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CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE STUDY OF UGOLINO DI NERIO'S ART

GERTRUDE COOR-ACHENBACH

THE COMPOSITION AND ICONOGRAPHY OF UGOLINO'S HIGH ALTARPIECE
FOR S. CROCE, FLORENCE

WE know from Vasari and later writers that the Duccio follower Ugolino di Nerio (who is better known as Ugolino da Siena) painted the first high altarpiece for the present church of S. Croce, Florence, that this altarpiece was replaced about 1569 by a ciborium after Vasari's design, and that in the second half of the eighteenth century it was in the upper dormitory of the convent of S. Croce, where it was seen by the Padre Guglielmo della Valle.¹ Judging from Della Valle's description, published in 1784 in the second volume of his *Lettere senesi*, at that time the work was still intact, but parts of it were in bad condition. A generation later, perhaps during the suppression of the Franciscan convent between 1810 and 1814 under the French regime,² the altarpiece was broken up. Most if not all parts that were considered worth keeping were purchased by the English collector, engraver, and critic William Young Ottley, who took them to England. The German art historian Gustav Friedrich Waagen saw them in 1835 in Ottley's home in London and referred to them in detail in the first volume of his *Kunstwerke und Künstler in England*, published in 1837. A comparison of the paintings adduced in this account with those from Ugolino's altarpiece listed in the sales catalogue of the Ottley Collection suggests that in the sale of June 30, 1847, there figured all parts which Ottley had acquired except the portion depicting the Virgin and Child, which Waagen had seen as a fragment.³ In contrast to all other paintings known to remain from Ugolino's altarpiece which the German scholar had studied in Ottley's residence, nothing has been heard of the main representation since the 1830's. Considering that the fragmentary painting has been referred to specifically by Della Valle and has been greatly praised by Waagen, it seems quite possible that it is still in existence.

Of the other parts from the high altarpiece that were dispersed a hundred years ago eight are now in the National Gallery, London,⁴ and five are in the collection which belonged to the Kaiser Friedrich Museum in Berlin, the major part of which is at present in Wiesbaden (Figs. 1-3).⁵ Four pieces are in private possession, three in the Cook Collection, Richmond (Figs. 4, 5),⁶

1. For detailed references concerning the information indicated in the introductory part of this paper and for additional facts relating to the history of Ugolino's high altarpiece for S. Croce consult Martin Davies' catalogue of the National Gallery, London, *The Earlier Italian Schools*, 1951, pp. 410-417.

2. Cf. F. Moisé, *S. Croce di Firenze; illustrazione storico-artistica*, Florence, 1845, pp. 411-413.

3. (London, Messrs. Foster & Son, Sale June 30, 1847) *A Catalogue of Pictures Including the Collection of Early Italian Masters of the late Warner Ottley* . . . , pp. 27f. (1-11), 33 (81). This publication contains no reference to the parts with only spandrel Angels, now in the National Gallery, London (3378) and in the Cook Collection, Richmond. Nevertheless, in view of the fact that Waagen saw the National Gallery Angels together with many other parts from Ugolino's altarpiece in 1854 or 1856 in the John Fuller Russell Collection (Waagen, *Galleries and Cabinets of Art in Great Britain* . . . ,

London, 1857, p. 285) it seems probable that the two fragments with Angels figured in the sale of 1847, most likely in an uncatalogued lot.

4. For good reproductions of these paintings cf. *Earlier Italian Schools*, Plates, 1953, II, pp. 421-427.

5. The *Flagellation* and *Entombment* are reproduced in Staatliche Museen Berlin, *Die Gemäldegalerie, Die italienischen Meister 13. bis 15. Jahrhundert*, 1930, figs. p. 131 (1635 A, B). These paintings were included in the exhibition "Meisterwerke italienischer Kunst," held in 1953 in the Neues Museum, Wiesbaden (cf. p. 36 of the catalogue).

6. I am much obliged to the director of the Art Exhibitions Bureau, London, for the new photographs of the pinnacles, taken after the name inscriptions had been refreshed and the meaningless inscription on Aaron's scroll reduced to what remains of the original letters. The panel with the spandrel Angels still shows the paintings that were added in the past

and one in the Lehman Collection, New York (Fig. 6).⁷ A pinnacle forms a part of the Johnson Collection in the Philadelphia Museum of Art (Fig. 8).⁸

On the basis of the surviving parts of Ugolino's altarpiece in conjunction with Della Valle's and Waagen's descriptions, and with the study of Ugolino's other paintings and of Sienese altarpieces of the early Trecento in general, it is possible to say a good deal more about the first complex altarpiece for S. Croce than has hitherto been said and to correct some false notions relating to it. Since this work is Ugolino's only documented painting of which parts are known to have survived, and moreover his masterpiece, and since it is a milestone in the evolution of the Sienese altarpiece and significant for Florentine painting, it merits detailed consideration.

Della Valle wrote of the altarpiece:⁹ "It is of one mass and of a height which corresponds in some way with the church and the altar on which it had to serve. It is full of many and varied large and small figures of incredible workmanship. There are also in the surrounding parts small busts and very small heads, in which there is diversity of traits and physiognomy; in contrast to those of Giotto, which for the most part seem all to be sisters in the flesh. At the point of St. Paul's sword there is a beautiful, affectionate, and vivacious Angel. The most beautiful part of this panel are the compartments below, representing the Passion of Our Lord Jesus Christ with many and expressive small figures; especially should be observed the panel with the *Last Supper*, where is St. John, who sleeps and rests rather naturally and has a pretty head, as has the central figure. In the *Arrest of Christ* in the Garden it seems as if by gently repulsing the traitor He were reprimanding Him pathetically. The figure of the Virgin, which is in the fourth compartment, also deserves observation. In the fifth there is the *Deposition* from the Cross, which forms a touching group, as does the *Entombment* of the Redeemer. More than one figure is dressed rather well in Roman fashion. The large frame of the panel is rich with ornaments. The figures are separated from each other by small pyramids and more or less pointed frames. In the middle sits the Virgin with the Child on her arm, which recalls that of Guido and of Duccio. Many figures have suffered a good deal. By means of a lit candle I read under the Virgin the following words: UGOLINUS DE SENIS ME PINXIT."

Waagen wrote the following after his visit to the Ottley Collection:¹⁰ "To my great joy I found here the larger portion of the panels of the picture by Ugolino da Siena which, according to Vasari, he painted for the high altar in the church of S. Croce at Florence. This master, who died in 1339 at a great age, appears here as a very important connecting link between the more severe Byzantine style of Duccio and the softer and more pleasing manner of Simon Memmi (properly Simon Martini). According to the fashion of the fourteenth century, this altar consisted of a number of single panels; which were at once separated and combined by a frame of Gothic architecture. Of the principal series, the center panel of which represented the Virgin and Child, the six others so many saints, all in half-figures, five panels are still entire. Of the Virgin only a fragment remains, the beauty of which excites much regret for the loss of the remainder. Above this was an equally numerous series, each with the half-figure of a saint. Of these I saw four. The seven divisions of the predella corresponding with the seven principal pictures are still all in existence and contain important events in the life of Christ from the Last Supper to the Resurrection, which are distinguished in the beauty and expression of the attitudes. In the male saints the antique Byzantine style prevails; the heads are of an oblong shape, the eyes well formed and well opened, the noses long and curved at the tip, the mouths of a delicate

century (cf. H. Cook, ed., *A Catalogue of the Paintings at Doughty House, Richmond* . . . 1, *Italian Schools*, London, 1913, fig. 3; and note 23 below).

7. Reproduced by courtesy of Mr. Robert Lehman and the Frick Art Reference Library.

8. Courtesy of the John G. Johnson Art Collection, Phila-

delphia.

9. For the original text cf. *Lettere senesi*, II, pp. 201f.

10. The following account is taken from the English translation of Waagen's *Kunst und Künstler in England*, published in 1838 in London as *Works of Art and Artists in England*, II, pp. 121-123.

and decided shape, the bodies are stretched, the arms thin, the fingers long and bony, the folds of the admirably cast draperies very sharp. In the angels as well as in the figures in the predella, on the contrary, the forms are fuller, the movements freer and more dramatic, and nearer to the manner and style of Simon Martini. Nor are they painted with the clammy dark cement of the Byzantines, but in the fluid, clearer distemper of Giotto, with yolk of egg and parchment glue, and a previous layer of verditter. The background is throughout gold. Below the centre division of the predella there is a piece joined on, on which is inscribed in Gothic capitals, conforming to the statement of Della Valle: UGOLINO DE SENIS ME PINXIT."

The study of Della Valle's and Waagen's descriptions in conjunction with that of the surviving parts of the altarpiece makes it quickly evident that this work was a low rectangular heptptych in four tiers. The seven lowest predella panels illustrated the story of Christ's life from the Last Supper to the Resurrection. Della Valle's comments establish that, in accordance with the common practice, Ugolino's predella scenes were arranged in the order of the events which they illustrated: *Last Supper*, *Betrayal*, *Flagellation*, *Way to Calvary*, *Deposition*, *Entombment*, *Resurrection*. The close connections between the second, fourth, fifth, and sixth of these scenes and the corresponding ones in Duccio's *Maestà* of 1308-1311 have frequently been noticed, and several scholars have rightly observed that certain differences in Ugolino's representations are sophisticated changes and rearrangements of Duccio's compositions. Most differences between the closely related representations by the head of the Sienese school and his gifted imitator are explained by Ugolino's urgent desire to increase the dramatic intensity and pathos of the various Passion scenes. In order to achieve this aim he represented his figures with meager and frequently elongated bodies, bony limbs, and lean, very expressive faces; placed Judas next to Christ and both near the observer in the *Last Supper* (Fig. 6);¹¹ omitted the episode of the Flight of the Apostles in the *Betrayal* and all spectators in the *Flagellation*; represented the Savior in utter humiliation with a rope around His neck and carrying His cross in the *Way to Calvary*;¹² reduced the number of figures in the *Deposition* and the *Entombment* and framed both groups of mourners by mountains; and depicted Christ's emergence from the tomb rather than those representations conventional in Italy until the early fourteenth century, His descent into limbo or the visit of the Holy Women to the empty tomb.¹³

11. The composition showing Christ seated at one short side of the long rectangular table and Judas seated near Him in front of the table had been previously employed by Giotto (for the example in the Arena Chapel at Padua cf. R. Van Marle, *The Development of the Italian Schools of Painting*, The Hague, 1923-38, III, fig. 48), from whom Ugolino may well have derived this composition. On the other hand, the Giotto pupil who painted the *Last Supper* in the Alte Pinakothek, Munich (*ibid.*, fig. 107) possibly received from Ugolino's representation the inspiration to place only Christ and John at one short side of the table and not to leave vacant the opposite side. Duccio (C. Brandi, *Duccio*, Florence, 1951, fig. 61) perpetuated the traditional composition of Christ seated in the center of the far side of the length of the table. In contrast to Giotto and Ugolino, this artist was so disturbed by the unnatural relations of heads to unforeshortened haloes of the Apostles in the foreground that he depicted all these figures without nimbi.

12. This motif was frequently employed in Dugento painting and in Duccio's circle was favored especially by Segna di Bonaventura and his followers. Duccio himself used the motif, common in Byzantine art but seldom applied in Italy after the middle of the thirteenth century, of Simon of Cyrene as bearer of the Savior's cross. For both compositions in Italian mediaeval art cf. Sandberg-Valalà, *La Croce dipinta italiana e Piconografia della Passione*, Verona, 1929, pp. 266-277 and 440-445.

13. For Italian examples of the Resurrection and the related

scenes before 1400 cf. *ibid.*, pp. 309-345 and 468-483; for the Resurrection see also H. Schrade, *Ikongraphie der christlichen Kunst*; I, *Die Auferstehung Christi*, Berlin-Leipzig, 1932, pp. 133-141. Since all the scenes in Ugolino's work that are encountered in the *Maestà* have important iconographic similarities with Duccio's paintings, it seems quite possible that this work included a Resurrection, notwithstanding the fact that the surviving parts of the *Maestà* include the *Descent into Limbo* and the *Marys at the Tomb*. This would seem all the more likely for two reasons. First, the earliest Tuscan examples of the Resurrection, Tino di Camaino's relief on the Petroni monument of 1318 in the Siena Cathedral (W. Valentiner, *Tino di Camaino*, Paris, 1935, pp. 47-56; figs. 9-11; pls. 18, 19, who, like Van Marle and several other scholars, assumed that Ugolino's high altarpiece was painted shortly after the new church of S. Croce was begun, in or about 1294, and who consequently derived Tino's Resurrection from Ugolino's) and the repetition on Tino's monument of Gastone della Torre of ca. 1319 in S. Croce (*ibid.*, pp. 59-62; pls. 21-26) are combined with representations of the Marys at the Tomb. Second, the latter scene and the others on the two monuments show close analogies to the corresponding representations in the *Maestà*. The composition employed in Tino's and Ugolino's Resurrections showing Christ stepping frontally out of the sarcophagus originated in northern Europe. (This composition perhaps became known to Duccio via the German [?] example in a thirteenth-century glass window at S. Francesco, Assisi; cf. H. Wentzel in *Wallraf-Richartz*

In a sequence of Passion scenes from the Last Supper to the Resurrection one does expect to find a representation of the Crucifixion. According to all we know, this scene was not included in the predella of Ugolino's altarpiece; however, as we shall see later in more detail, it is probable that it was depicted above the main figures.

Ugolino's predella is problematical, not only in the choice of scenes but also in the size of the panel depicting the Way to Calvary. This panel was apparently meant to form the central part of the predella, and one would therefore expect it to be wider than the other six panels from the same unit. Actually, it has the same dimensions as the other intact predella scenes, 40.5 x 58.5 cm including the frame, which is regilded but possibly original. Raised paint and gold at either side of the panel indicate that we are dealing with the original width, and they explain why in Edward Hutton's reconstruction of the altarpiece the central panel is not any wider than the lateral panels.¹⁴ However, the correctness of this scheme is contradicted by all intact Tuscan polyptychs of the early fourteenth century, in which the main panel is higher and wider than the flanking panels. On the basis of these polyptychs, primarily Ugolino's pentaptych in the Ricasoli Collection in Brolio in Chianti (Fig. 9),¹⁵ which is stylistically closely related, it seems probable that the central section of the S. Croce altarpiece was about one-fourth wider than the flanking sections. That it was exactly one-fourth wider is manifested by the spandrel panel originally above the main figures, which is 75 cm wide (Fig. 7). Considering that between or below major representations the altarpiece had ornamental paintings of ca. 9 cm width (Figs. 1-3), it seems quite possible that the *Way to Calvary* was flanked by similar decorative strips. These perhaps displayed coats-of-arms relating to donors of the altarpiece, as were seen in the predella of Ugolino's high altarpiece for S. Maria Novella, Florence.¹⁶

The predella panels from S. Croce are surrounded by narrow mouldings which date in large part from the same period as the enclosed paintings. Above these panels were strips with painted geometric ornament and the Latin names of the Saints in the main tier (Figs. 1-3). There is good reason to suppose that, as in Simone Martini's heptaptych of 1320 from S. Caterina, Pisa (Fig. 10), the central strip showed Ugolino's signature. The strip with the signature was saved when the altarpiece was dismembered and the panel with the Virgin and Child cut down. Waagen saw it joined to the central predella panel, but it has not been heard of since the time when the German scholar referred to it. According to him, Ugolino chose for his name the Italian form and for the place of his origin the Latin. The study of the surviving inscriptions from the S. Croce altarpiece and of signatures in Sienese and Florentine paintings of the first half of the fourteenth century makes it appear much more likely that Ugolino used Latin forms for all the words in the signature, as reported by Della Valle.

The representations in the main part of the altarpiece consisted of an image of the Virgin and Child flanked by six Saints. The surviving panels from this zone together with intact con-

Jahrbuch, XIV, 1952, pp. 45-72; fig. 50). However, the depiction of the Savior with his raised foot resting on the rim of the stone coffin instead of suspended in air or placed on the ground is a Sienese variant which enjoyed much favor in this school throughout the Trecento. That Duccio included in the upper part of the back of the *Maestà* a Resurrection rather than an Ascension is suggested furthermore by the fact that several examples of the Resurrection can be pointed out in Sienese works influenced by Duccio's art, but to my knowledge no single Ascension, and because in contrast to the former scene the latter was rare in Sienese art throughout the Trecento. (Duccio's *Resurrection* in the *Maestà* has been mentioned again and again, probably because of the survival of the scenes related to the Resurrection, the Marys at the Tomb and the Descent into Limbo; however, it should be taken into account that all three representations figure for instance in two Romagnole Trecento panels in the Galleria Nazionale

di Roma.)

14. The scheme was first published in E. Hutton, *The Sienese School in the National Gallery*, London and Boston, 1925, fig. p. 20. Ten years later it was approved by R. Tatlock and reproduced on p. 66 of his article, "Ugolino da Siena's Predella Completed," *Apollo*, XXI, 1935, pp. 65f.

15. In this work, which is ca. 0.95 m high and 1.95 m wide and which was produced close in time to the S. Croce altarpiece, the proportions of width of the central panel to the lateral panels are 9:7. In Ugolino's earlier pentaptych at Siena (Fig. 11) they are closer to those in the two polyptychs from Duccio's shop (Fig. 12; and Van Marle, *op.cit.*, II, fig. 41), i.e. about 3:2. Duccio's proportions are still reflected in Simone Martini's altarpiece of 1320 at Pisa (Fig. 10), but in Pietro Lorenzetti's painting of the same year in the Pieve at Arezzo (*ibid.*, fig. 228) the proportions are 4:3.

16. Cf. note 31 below.

temporary Tuscan polyptychs leave no doubt that all the figures in the main tier except the Infant Christ were shown in long half-length. This length may explain Della Valle's statement that the Virgin was depicted seated. Perhaps the central panel showed damage and was drastically cut at the time when the altarpiece was broken up since Waagen saw merely a fragment of the central Mary. We do not know the composition of the main figures, but considering that Ugolino's monumental painting contained numerous important reflections of the *Maestà* and that his pentaptych in the Ricasoli Collection (Fig. 9), which has very close connections with the work from S. Croce, reflects the composition of Duccio's most famous *Madonna and Child*, it seems quite possible that his masterpiece recalled the main composition of Duccio's.¹⁷

Of the Saints which flanked the principal figures only John the Baptist, Peter, and Paul are known. Waagen wrote that Ottley possessed five panels with large Saints, but the relevant entry in the sales catalogue of the Ottley Collection together with the known paintings leaves little doubt that Waagen confused the number with that of the panels depicting coupled Saints from the upper part of the work. The study of the surviving figures from the main zone in conjunction with the study of such representations in other Sienese altarpieces of the first third of the fourteenth century, foremost in examples from Duccio's circle, indicates that the Baptist was shown pointing at the Virgin and Child and placed directly to the left of these figures.¹⁸ Paul in three-quarter view was probably farthest left, and the frontal Peter between Paul and John.

The representation of the Baptist makes it fairly certain that the original work included a St. John the Evangelist, because in Sienese polyptychs of the first third of the Trecento one of these two paintings of St. John was rarely shown without the other. In the S. Croce altarpiece the Evangelist was probably depicted opposite the Precursor, i.e. directly to the right of the Virgin and Child. In view of the fact that the Peter, Paul, and John the Baptist in the Brollo polyptych are iconographically, typologically, and stylistically very similar to the corresponding figures from the S. Croce altarpiece (Figs. 9, 1-3), the Evangelist in the polyptych gives us a good idea of the representation in the large altarpiece. Following the rule of the school at that period, the Gospel writer was shown holding a book.

Concerning the Saints to the right of the Evangelist John, one is led to conjecture that both were Franciscans. The small female Saint from the upper register of the altarpiece, who is dressed like a Franciscan tertiary and holds a part of her dress and a bowl, apparently represents Elizabeth of Hungary (Fig. 3).¹⁹ This figure alone implies that the work included several Franciscan Saints, among them Francis of Assisi. In the high altarpiece of the most important Franciscan church in Trecento Tuscany this Saint was undoubtedly represented in the tier of the main figures. He was probably depicted with the stigmata in his hands and side, holding a book, and was shown frontally, all as in Ugolino's two earlier representations in Siena (Fig. 11) and San Casciano,²⁰ and placed opposite Peter. At his left was most likely Clare, founder of the female branch of the order, whom Ugolino had depicted earlier in the painting just mentioned in Siena,

17. Ugolino had closely copied this composition several years earlier in his *Madonna* in the Lehman Collection (R. Lehman, *The Philip Lehman Collection New York, Paintings*, Paris, 1928, pl. xvi).

18. In most Sienese altarpieces of the first third of the fourteenth century the Baptist is depicted at the right of the Virgin and Child, but only in the polyptych No. 47 (from Duccio's shop) in the Siena Gallery (Fig. 12) does he point at a fellow saint instead of the principal figures. The Baptist is at the left of the main personages in the provincial pentaptych in the Collegiata at Chianciano (Van Marle, *op.cit.*, II, fig. 70), which recalls Ugolino's masterpiece in structural, compositional, and iconographic respects.

19. The personage, who has hitherto merely been called a female saint, wears a light brown dress, grey mantle, and

white veil. The raised mantle seems to refer to the miracle in which food for the poor which Elizabeth carried in this garment was transformed into roses. In Giotto's fresco in the Bardi Chapel of S. Croce (cf. the end of the present paragraph in the text and note 22) and in the Monte Oliveto Master's contemporary panel painting in the Collection of the Viscountess Lee of Fareham (*Diana*, VI, 1931, pl. 2 opp. p. 56) Elizabeth is depicted holding roses in her mantle.

20. Van Marle, *op.cit.*, II, fig. 67. Additional examples of St. Francis are found in the Brollo pentaptych, in a polyptych lateral at Birmingham (Fig. 13), and in a *Crucifixion* from Ugolino's shop in the Siena Gallery (cf. p. 163). It is certain that the two works at Siena were produced for the Franciscan order, for which Ugolino worked more extensively than for any other.

or Louis of Toulouse, internationally beloved French bishop saint, whom Ugolino seems to have included previously in a now dispersed altarpiece,²¹ and whom Giotto portrayed about or shortly after 1320 in the Bardi Chapel of S. Croce, together with Louis, king of France, Clare, and Elizabeth of Hungary.²²

In the panels with the large surviving Saints the positions and glances of the Angels who lean against the framing arches are indicative of the main figures' positions. This observation leads to the deduction that the panel with Angels in the Cook Collection, of the same width as the panels with large Saints, was above the central figure, and that the panel No. 3378 in the National Gallery, London, was most likely above the figure farthest right in the right half of the main tier in Ugolino's work. These paintings include parts of the panels that were below them and showed the tops of the haloes of St. Francis and the other large Franciscan Saint from the S. Croce altarpiece.²³ It can here be established that the main figures, too, were surmounted by leaning Angels in the spandrels, an arrangement used earlier both by Guido da Siena and by Duccio, and that enjoyed considerable favor in the shop of Pietro Lorenzetti. Proof is the damaged painting with ten Worshipping Angels in the Los Angeles County Museum (Fig. 7).²⁴ Considered together, the shape, composition, iconography, and style leave no doubt that this panel, attributed to a follower of Duccio and dated ca. 1300, is the central spandrel from the first high altarpiece of S. Croce.

The paintings with Saints from the Kaiser Friedrich Museum demonstrate that the spandrel Angels were surmounted by decorative bands with small heads and other painted ornament in raised, gilt quatrefoils,²⁵ and that above these bands were coupled representations of Apostles and other Saints (Figs. 1-3). Study of the coupled figures reveals that they comprised ten of the Twelve Apostles (the other two, Peter and John, were placed in the main tier). Several of these figures can still be identified by means of the inscribed names (which originally accompanied all half-length representations of Christ's disciples), and the others can be identified by their type. A comparison of the Apostles with the corresponding figures in the *Maestà* makes it evident that Ugolino imitated Duccio's types very closely. Since the inscriptions of all ten half-length Apostles in the *Maestà* are preserved, the identification of Ugolino's Apostles presents no difficulty. It reveals that the figure to the left of the female Saint (Fig. 3) is meant to represent Matthias not Thomas (?), as identified in the catalogues of 1913 and 1931 of the Italian paintings in the Kaiser Friedrich Museum,²⁶ and that the Apostle to the left of Thaddeus is meant to represent Simon not James (?), as identified in the 1951 catalogue of the National Gallery, London.

The composition of the various Apostles, together with their importance, suggests that Matthew and James Minor, now above Paul, were originally above John the Baptist, and that Matthias and Elizabeth, now above the Baptist, were in the farthest right in the altarpiece, opposite a

21. Cf. p. 162 and note 48.

22. The much restored figures which Giotto designed and perhaps executed himself are reproduced in C. Weigelt, *Giotto*, Stuttgart-Berlin-Leipzig, 1925, figs. 139, 140. After Clare and Louis of Toulouse one would expect Anthony of Padua as the second major Franciscan saint in the S. Croce altarpiece. A follower of Ugolino, the so-called Ugolino Lorenzetti, depicted this saint about 1330 in a pinnacle of the altarpiece No. 8 in the Museo dell'Opera di S. Croce (Van Marle, *op.cit.*, II, fig. 72), which work contains Francis in the main tier and Clare and Louis of Toulouse in the predella.

23. The punched ornament in the lower part of the London panel with spandrel Angels, and damaged and painted Instruments of the Passion in the corresponding panels in the Cook Collection, obscure the parts of the haloes that were visible in these panels. It was undoubtedly for the sake of this result that the additions were made in the nineteenth century.

24. A.5141.49-660. Cf. Los Angeles County Museum, *Bulletin of the Art Division*, Summer 1950, p. 17(2); and A

Catalogue of Italian, French and Spanish Paintings (1954), p. 9(1); Fig. 1. The painting was acquired by Mr. William Randolph Hearst and presented to the Museum in 1949 together with a Florentine *Coronation of the Virgin* of ca. 1400, of which it formed the spandrels. Its earlier whereabouts are unknown.

25. Decorative paintings of light-colored animals in dark quatrefoils, as seen in the panels from Berlin, had been used earlier by Ugolino on the frame of a *Crucifixion* in private possession (cf. below p. 163 n. 50). Such ornament was employed elsewhere in Duccio's circle by the Badia a Isola Master, in the late *Madonna* which was formerly in the Argenterii Collection at Spoleto (Photo. Gabinetto Fotografico Nazionale D-929).

26. Cf. Königliche Museen zu Berlin, *Die Gemäldegalerie des Kaiser-Friedrich Museums, Vollständiger beschreibender Katalog*. . . *Die romanischen Länder*, 1913, p. 19; and Staatliche Museen Berlin, *Die Gemäldegalerie, Die italienischen Meister 13. bis 15. Jahrhundert*, 1930, p. 491.

pendant Franciscan Saint (most likely Clare or Mary Magdalen) and Thomas, above Paul. The present arrangement of the paintings containing large figures of Saints came into existence between 1911, when the three panels with coupled figures were given to the Kaiser Friedrich Museum, and 1913, when the combined paintings were reproduced in Posse's catalogue. In this arrangement only the combination of James Major and Philip with Peter is satisfactory. These Apostles would seem to have been opposite Simon and Thaddeus, above Francis, and to their left were probably Bartholomew and Andrew. What was to the left of the last mentioned figures, i.e. in the main field in the tier with coupled Saints? Conceivably an Annunciation, with Gabriel kneeling at the left of the central column and Mary seated at its right, as in Pietro Lorenzetti's altarpiece of 1320. In that case the surmounting pinnacle showed probably a representation of the Crucifixion, as does a pinnacle by an Ugolino follower in the Johnson Collection.²⁷ On the basis of related works it is more probable that, like Duccio and Simone, Ugolino reserved the main pinnacle for a representation of Christ Blessing and, consequently, that he depicted the Crucifixion in the trapezoidal field above the main figures. If so, this field differed almost certainly from the surrounding fields in regard to inner divisions and contained not more than one arch, if any at all. In this space one would expect to find a contemplative rather than a narrative representation, and one may conjecture that it showed only the Crucified, His Mother, and His favorite disciple, with perhaps the witnesses seated on the ground, as in the pinnacle of an enthroned *Madonna and Child with Two Saints and Four Angels* by a follower of the Badia a Isola Master and Ugolino.²⁸

In the topmost zone were seven pinnacles, most likely (as in Simone's heptptych; Fig. 10) all with single figures, certainly six with half-length representations of prophets and patriarchs. From the surviving parts of the inscriptions or other identifying details we know that the four remaining figures represent Moses, Aaron, Isaiah, and Daniel (Figs. 4, 5, 8).²⁹ On the basis of contemporary Sienese altarpieces with representations of prophets and patriarchs, primarily the *Maestà*, Duccio's triptych in the National Gallery, London, and the polyptych No. 47 in the Pinacoteca, Siena (Fig. 12), it seems most likely that the missing figures represented Christ, Jeremiah, and David, and that these personages were similar in composition, iconography, and style to the corresponding ones by Duccio.³⁰ The study of the compositions of the known figures suggests that in the S. Croce altarpiece the pinnacles showed from left to right Moses, Aaron, Jeremiah, Christ, Isaiah, David, and Daniel.

Two-thirds of the panels that made up Ugolino's complex altarpiece have survived, and there remain examples from each tier of the original painting. Consequently it is possible to indicate the approximate dimensions of the work. Assuming that, like Simone's heptptych, the altarpiece had floral-shaped finials of ca. 25 cm height, its total height was about three and one-quarter meters

27. Photo. John G. Johnson Art Collection. Berenson attributed the painting to Ugolino himself.

28. Reproduced in *Dedalo*, XI, 1930-31, fig. p. 267. This is one of the earliest examples of this composition, which was used repeatedly in Sienese painting of the second quarter of the fourteenth century. Hutton (*The Sienese School*, p. 19) and Davies (*The Earlier Italian Schools*, p. 413) thought that Ugolino's Crucifixion might have occupied, in addition to the space here suggested for it as the most likely one, that of the central pinnacle. If so, the scene would have been flanked in the lower part by Apostles and in the upper by Prophets. Such an arrangement seems to me less likely than the traditional one in which the various tiers were kept uniform in regard to panel shape and strictly separate from each other, as in the polyptych from Duccio's shop and in Simone's heptptych (Figs. 12, 10).

29. All pinnacle figures had their names inscribed, but most inscriptions have largely disappeared. The Isaiah could be

identified by means of the fragmentary inscription on his scroll, and the Aaron on the basis of his headdress in conjunction with his type and the remaining letter "A" of his name.

30. The relevant figures in the Siena polyptych, some of which have hitherto been misidentified, are from left to right: Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, Jeremiah, Moses, David, Isaiah, Elijah, Daniel, and Malachi; those in the London triptych, reproduced in *Earlier Italian Schools*, Plates, I, pp. 131, 134, apparently are: Daniel, Moses, Isaiah, David, Abraham, Jacob, and Jeremiah; and those in the predella of the *Maestà* (Brandi, *Duccio*, figs. 42, 44, 47) are: Isaiah, Ezekiel, Solomon, Malachi, Jeremiah, and Hosea. It seems very possible that the *Maestà* was crowned on the reverse by a representation of the Redeemer Blessing, which was perhaps above the Resurrection and at the back of an abbreviated representation of the Assumption of the Virgin, above the Coronation.

in the center and two and three-quarter meters in the lateral parts, and its width about four and one-half meters. The work was as wide as the *Maestà*, but not as high. In regard to the proportions of central to lateral height and of height to width, as well as in regard to the actual dimensions, the painting closely corresponded with Simone's high altarpiece at Pisa.

Thus the Franciscans of S. Croce received for their vast new church a high altarpiece which recalls Simone's heptptych in structure, proportions, and size, and in part in the choice of subjects, and which imitates Duccio's *Maestà* in the narrative representations, typology, and style, and in part in the composition of single figures. The artist who produced this work had great gifts and exquisite taste, and he imitated Duccio's art better than most of this master's pupils. His outstanding qualities already had earned him important commissions in Florence, such as the high altarpiece for S. Maria Novella, executed before 1324,³¹ and perhaps a Madonna for Orsanmichele, according to pictorial evidence *in situ* in 1329 and composed during the preceding fifteen years.³² It is therefore not surprising that the Franciscans in Florence asked this Sienese artist to produce the most important painting for their new church. Of course, for reasons of rivalry alone they wanted a more splendid work than that which Ugolino had executed for the Dominicans of S. Maria Novella, most likely a triptych or pentaptych.

The high altarpiece which Ugolino produced for the Franciscans of S. Croce must have satisfied even the most demanding and critical commissioner. It was a magnificent painting, with its elaborate framework, sophisticated structure, slender proportions, and delicate forms; its graceful figures, intricate ornament, subtle colors, and large areas of glowing gold; its thoughtful compositions, precise drawing, and refined execution; the intense drama of the scenes, the pathos of the friends of Christ in the narrative representations, and the searching spirituality of the single Saints. Due to the decreased body weight and the increased expressiveness of faces and gestures, Ugolino's acting figures, as compared with Duccio's, produced an impression of greater asceticism and tension. They are less normal and less human than Duccio's, yet, like Giovanni Pisano's related late figures, just because of their unusual character they are fascinating.

Even the tiniest head and smallest painted ornament in the surviving parts of the altarpiece from S. Croce betray Ugolino's skillful hand, and it seems certain that he himself executed every painted form in the large work, and consequently that this was in production for more than a year. At what time? For the reasons that have been indicated above, the majority of modern scholars place the work in time after Duccio's, but so far no agreement has been reached in regard to a date within narrow limits. Such a date can be arrived at by careful study of the works than can be attributed to Ugolino with good reason³³ and of related dated paintings. Because of the complexity of this problem only the main result can be pointed out in the space available. This is that, like

31. The altarpiece was donated by the Dominican monk at S. Maria Novella, Baro Sassetti (†1324), and it was referred to in 1600 by another member of the donor's family. It is known to have been in existence in the late sixteenth century and to have represented the Madonna and Child with Saints above a predella twice showing the coat-of-arms of Baro Sassetti (cf. J. W. Brown, *The Dominican Church of S. Maria Novella at Florence; a Historical, Architectural, and Artistic Study*, Edinburgh, 1902, p. 131; and A. Warburg, *Gesammelte Schriften*, Leipzig, 1932, I, pp. 136, 354). Among the large Saints in this altarpiece was surely Dominic and almost certainly not Francis. Therefore no part of this work can be connected with any of Ugolino's three paintings in S. Maria della Misericordia, San Casciano, consisting of a panel with the enthroned Madonna and Child and two lateral parts of an altarpiece with half-length representations of SS. Francis and Peter. Inasmuch as the monks of S. Maria Novella founded the San Casciano oratory in 1335, De Nicola (*L'Arte*, XIX, 1916, pp. 13ff.) thought that Ugolino's works probably came

there from the famous Dominican church in Florence.

32. Reference is made here to the painting illustrated in the Florentine Biadaiuolo manuscript of about 1340 in the Biblioteca Laurenziana (Tempiano No. 3, c. 79), in the miniature showing a riot which took place in the Piazza Orsanmichele during the famine of 1329. This painting is perhaps reflected in Bernardo Daddi's *Madonna* of 1346-1347 in Orsanmichele (cf. G. Milanesi, *Sulla storia dell'arte toscana; scritti vari*, Florence, 1873, pp. 325-341; and R. Offner, *A Corpus of Florentine Painting*, New York, III, III [1930], p. 72; and III, III, I [1930], p. IX; pl. XVIII⁹). The kneeling Angels in the painting in the miniature suggest a date for this work after Giotto's *Madonna* of about 1310-1315 for the Ognissanti church, apparently the earliest example of this composition which Simone Martini employed in his *Maestà* fresco of 1315 in the Palazzo Pubblico, Siena.

33. For these attributions consult the second part of this paper.

Duccio, Ugolino produced his masterpiece toward the end of his career, which we can follow from about 1305-1310 until about 1325-1330. Apparently he executed his most important work shortly after Simone had signed the earliest Italian heptptych at Pisa and after Pietro Lorenzetti had completed his pentptych for the Pieve at Arezzo, with which work it has some compositional and iconographic similarities. The new church of S. Croce, begun in 1294 or 1295, was sufficiently advanced to be opened for services about 1321. It was probably about this time that Giotto painted his frescoes in the Bardi and Peruzzi Chapels and that Ugolino began the high altarpiece. The relations between the unaccentuated ceilings in Ugolino's *Last Supper* and *Flagellation* and the roof in Giotto's fresco of *St. Francis' Apparition at Arles*, and between the representation of the space box in the *Flagellation* and that in the just mentioned fresco in the Bardi Chapel, and that of *Zacharias Writing the Name of His Son* in the Peruzzi Chapel,³⁴ suggest that Ugolino drew some inspiration from Giotto's frescoes in S. Croce for his high altarpiece in the same church, which work was probably finished by 1325.

REMARKS RELATING TO PAINTINGS ATTRIBUTED TO UGOLINO
AND TO THE CHRONOLOGY OF HIS WORKS

On the basis of the surviving parts of the high altarpiece of S. Croce more than two dozen paintings have been attributed to Ugolino, but so far no attempt has been made to study the artist's work as a whole and to arrange his paintings in chronological order. The main reason for the avoidance of these important studies is that it is very difficult to obtain a comprehensive picture of the artist's production. The records throw no light whatever on Ugolino's activity as a painter, and of his only documented work parts of which are known to have survived, i.e. the altarpiece of S. Croce, we possess only two-thirds and these in a dismembered state. Inasmuch as this work came into existence rather late in Ugolino's career, it is especially difficult to know what works he painted at the beginning of his activity. The problem is further complicated by the fact that the records inform us that he was the son of a painter and that he had two brothers who practiced the same profession; yet they do not indicate a single product by any of these four artists, who almost certainly worked in the same general style and probably collaborated at times.³⁵ No wonder that the problem of Ugolino's works is a thorny one! Nevertheless, the writer has occupied herself with it for some time and by studying in the original almost all the paintings that are closely related to the S. Croce altarpiece has recognized a number of them as certain and a few as probable products of Ugolino, has arranged all these works in approximate chronological order, and has singled out additional hands in the initial group. The main results of these studies shall here be indicated for the sake of the students who wish to penetrate further into the problems relating to Ugolino in particular and to Duccio's school in general.

The Brolio pentptych (Fig. 9) forms a logical beginning for all attributions to Ugolino because the SS. Peter, Paul, and John the Baptist in this work are so similar to the corresponding figures from the S. Croce altarpiece (Figs. 1-3) as to make it immediately evident that all these forms were produced by the same hand. The study of the Virgin and Child and the Saints in the pentptych establishes a number of paintings as works by Ugolino. These are the triptych of the *Madonna and Child with SS. Paul and Peter* in the Contini Bonacossi Collection, Florence, which Francesco Brogi studied a hundred years ago in S. Pietro in Villore, San Giovanni d'Asso;³⁶ the enthroned

34. This and the other fresco by Giotto are reproduced in Van Marle, *op.cit.*, III, figs. 83, 79.

35. For the documents relating to Ugolino and his family cf. P. Bacci, *Dipinti inediti e sconosciuti di Pietro Lorenzetti, Bernardo Daddi etc. in Siena e nel contado*, Siena, 1939, pp.

121-162.

36. F. Brogi, *Inventario generale degli oggetti d'arte della provincia di Siena*, Siena, 1897, pp. 526f., as "Duccio manner; Siennese, first half fourteenth century." The triptych is reproduced in Van Marle, *op.cit.*, II, fig. 56.

Madonna and Child and the lateral panels from a polyptych with half-length figures of St. Peter and St. Francis in S. Maria della Misericordia, San Casciano;³⁷ the half-length representations of the Madonna and Child, in part if not all originally in the center of altarpieces, in S. Maria, Montepulciano,³⁸ and the Lehman Collection, New York, and that which was formerly in the Tadini Buoninsegni Collection, Florence;³⁹ the pentaptych No. 39 in the Pinacoteca, Siena (Fig. 11), which has just been carefully restored in the Istituto Centrale del Restauro;⁴⁰ the three-quarter figure of St. Francis from the left side of an altarpiece in the Barber Institute, Birmingham (Fig. 13);⁴¹ the originally half-length image of the Evangelist Matthew from the right side of an altarpiece in the Lehman Collection;⁴² and the pinnacle with the Prophet Isaiah in the National Gallery of Ireland (Fig. 14).⁴³

The majority of these works are accepted as products of Ugolino by a number of modern scholars, but there is little agreement in regard to a group of paintings, also ascribed to the artist in the present century, which are less closely connected with the S. Croce altarpiece than are the panels that have just been cited. Of these attributions the writer favors those of the considerably restored *Mourning Virgin*, the left terminal of a large Crucifix, in the Pinacoteca, Siena;⁴⁴ the neglected, in part repainted triptych of the *Madonna and Child with SS. Augustine and Dominic* in the Palazzo Comunale, Montalcino (Fig. 15);⁴⁵ the much damaged, unpublished panel of *St. John the Baptist between a Franciscan Nun and Monk* in the Fogg Museum, Cambridge (Fig. 16);⁴⁶ the somewhat retouched *Madonna and Child* in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston;⁴⁷ and, with reservations, the half-length St. Mary Magdalen and St. Louis of Toulouse from an altarpiece, in the California Palace of the Legion of Honor, San Francisco.⁴⁸

37. All three panels are illustrated in *l'Arte*, XIX, 1916, figs. 1-3, pp. 14, 15.

38. This panel, which has been cut considerably at the bottom, is reproduced in Brandi, *Duccio*, fig. 116.

39. Cf. *ibid.*, p. 155 and fig. 117. Brandi called the author of this painting the Master of the Tadini Buoninsegni Madonna. He placed him between Ugolino and the Città di Castello Master and attributed to him the related *Madonna at Langeais* (cf. below p. 163 n. 54), the enthroned *Madonna and Child with Four Saints and a Kneeling Dominican Monk* in the Art Institute, Chicago (*ibid.*, fig. 119), and the Ducciesque diptych in the Archiepiscopal Museum, Utrecht (Van Marle, *op.cit.*, II, fig. 80).

40. I am very grateful to the director of the Institute, Professor Brandi, for having made it possible for me to study this work and several others during restoration.

41. *Catalogue of the Paintings, Drawings and Miniatures in the Barber Institute of Fine Arts, University of Birmingham*, Cambridge, 1952, p. 116.

42. *The Philip Lehman Collection*, pl. XVII. The Saint is frequently referred to as a St. John the Evangelist, but the style of hair and beard point to an image of Matthew. Compare the representations with name inscriptions in Duccio's *Maestà* and Pietro Lorenzetti's altarpiece at Arezzo.

43. This pinnacle, which has been misidentified as a part of Ugolino's high altarpiece for S. Croce, was formerly in the A. M. Singer Collection, London (Sale Christie's February 21, 1930, No. 95), and had been acquired about 1870 by the Dowager Viscountess Galway in Lucca.

44. Photo. Alinari 45290. According to Bacci (*Bollettino d'Arte*, XXVI, 1932, p. 186) this panel, formerly in the Conservatorio di S. Girolamo, Montepulciano, was acquired by the Siena Gallery in 1920. It is not included in Brandi's catalogue of 1933.

45. For the whole work cf. Van Marle, *op.cit.*, II, p. 94, fig. 94. This scholar attributed it to the same hand as the polyptych parts Nos. 37 and 38 in the Pinacoteca, Siena, and the triptych in S. Giovanni Battista, San Giovanni d'Asso, in my opinion all by Niccolò di Segna. The two Saints in the Montalcino tabernacle are intimately connected with the corresponding figures

composed by Duccio in the pentaptych No. 28 in the Siena Gallery.

46. Reproduced by courtesy of the Fogg Art Museum, Harvard University. The panel was presented to this institution in 1921 by Charles Loeser. Because of its poor condition the painting is in storage. Including the original molded, gilt frame of ca. 2.5 cm width, it measures 46 x 34 cm (18 x 12½ inches). The gold of the background and frame is much abraded, and the surface color of the flesh is largely lost. Instead we see a good deal of red bole and much green underpaint. Here and there, especially in the main figure's hair, we notice traces of a greasy dark varnish. Excepting the nun's white veil, the garments of all figures now have a greyish brown aspect, but cleaning tests suggest that the Baptist was wearing a reddish brown hairy garment and grey-brown mantle, and that both kneeling figures wore grey-brown habits, thus pointing to Franciscan donors. That these donors came from distinguished families is indicated by the three reddish brown coats-of-arms at the bottom of the painting, which have lost their heraldic devices. The panel, most likely produced for private devotion, is in too bad a condition to enable one to obtain an adequate impression of its style. In its present state it suggests to me that it is by a painter different from the one who produced the *Baptist Preaching* in the Budapest Museum of Fine Arts (Van Marle, *op.cit.*, II, fig. 68), which panel Van Marle and some other students assigned to Ugolino. The latter work seems to be the product of an Ugolino pupil who is often confused with the personality whom Millard Meiss tentatively identified as Bartolommeo Bulgarini.

47. *Ibid.*, fig. 99. The haloes have been retouched, the gold renewed, and the Infant's hair retouched. The Virgin and Child are stylistically closely related to the corresponding figures in Ugolino's pentaptych in Siena (Fig. 11), where one finds the same lack of tension in the various forms.

48. These panels, which I know only from reproductions, were presented to the museum in 1952 by Arthur Sachs of New York. They had previously been in the O'Meara Collection in Brussels and were published by Van Marle (*Diana*, IV, 1929, pp. 307f.; pls. 1, 2 opp. 306f.) as products of Segna di Bonaventura. This attribution is easily understood because

The present writer would attribute to Ugolino furthermore several paintings which to her knowledge have not been assigned to him previously. One of these paintings is the mutilated *Crucifix* in the Pieve of Montisi (Fig. 17),⁴⁹ and another is the well preserved Ducciesque *Crucifixion* from the Toscanelli Collection, which was in recent years in another private collection in Florence (Fig. 18). Despite the fact that the latter work is of very high quality, in excellent condition, and of considerable size, and that it was attributed to Duccio by the eminent Siene scholar Gaetano Milanesi and reproduced in the album of the Toscanelli Collection,⁵⁰ it is now virtually unknown. The compositions of *The Crucified and His Mother* are dependent upon Duccio, as is indicated by the triptych from this artist's shop in the English Royal Collection.⁵¹ The main figure is stylistically so similar to that in the damaged and restored *Crucifixion* from Ugolino's shop in the Siena Gallery (No. 34) that there can be no doubt that the same artist designed both figures.⁵² This artist painted the entire *Crucifixion with a Kneeling Monk, Woman, and Child* in the Collection of the Viscountess Lee of Fareham, which Borenius published as an early work by Simone Martini.⁵³ He seems to have been responsible for the little known early Trecento *Madonna* in the Castle of Langeais,⁵⁴ the considerably damaged and restored *Madonna* from the Platt Collection in the Art Museum of Princeton University,⁵⁵ and the exquisite *St. Catherine* in the Francken Sierstorf Collection at Eltville.⁵⁶ On the basis of shape, size, composition, halo ornament, and execution it seems possible that the two last mentioned paintings belonged to the same polyptych as the San Francisco Saints, and the style indicates with certainty that these Saints and the Eltville figure were produced by the same artist.⁵⁷

the female Saint is very similar to the Mary Magdalen in a cut-down panel in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston (Van Marle, *Italian Schools of Painting*, II, fig. 96), which is commonly assigned to Segna or a pupil of this artist.

49. Courtesy of the Frick Art Reference Library. This work is usually attributed to an unspecified follower of Duccio, but Brandi (*La R. Pinacoteca di Siena*, p. 177) assigned it to the Monte Oliveto Master.

50. Cf. G. Milanesi, ed., *Catalogue de la collection Toscanelli de Florence, Tableaux, meubles et objets d'art*, Florence, 1883, p. 24 (98); album, pl. xx. According to this catalogue, the panel is 1.70 m high and 0.88 m wide and was formerly in a convent of S. Romano near Empoli.

51. Brandi, *Duccio*, fig. 112.

52. The Siena painting is reproduced in Brandi, *La R. Pinacoteca di Siena*, p. 301. The Crucified exemplifies Ugolino's art of his middle period, but the Virgin (who reflects the Virgin Mary in the *Way to Calvary* from the S. Croce altarpiece) and John (who recalls Judas and the figure farthest right in Ugolino's *Betrayal*) depend on late representations by the artist. The robust quality and unpleasant facial type of the John are met with again among the listeners in the Budapest *St. John the Baptist Preaching* (cf. note 45 above). This painting, which shows important stylistic relations to Ugolino's Passion scenes and which should be compared especially with the Lehman Last Supper, seems to be by the artist who painted the Virgin, John, and Francis in the Siena *Crucifixion*. A probable third work by this follower produced in Ugolino's immediate surroundings is the central panel in the *Crucifixion* tabernacle from the Blumenthal Collection in the Metropolitan Museum (Van Marle, *op. cit.*, II, fig. 55; the wings were painted by an artist who was strongly influenced by Segna's art). The Christ and Virgin in this panel recall Ugolino's Passion cycle, foremost the *Deposition*, while John and the mourning Angels bring to mind the *Crucifixion* from the Toscanelli Collection, and the SS. Clare and Francis remind one of Ugolino's pentaptych in Siena. Is this eclectic follower who assisted Ugolino during the 1320's identical with the artist's painter brother Guido or Minuccio? And was it he who as an assistant in Duccio's shop painted in the second decade of the fourteenth century the much damaged *Crucifixion* tabernacle in the Museo della Società delle Pie Disposizioni, Siena, which

Bacci attributed to Ugolino (Bacci, *Dipinti inediti*, pp. 152-162; figs. 1-3, 5, 6, 8 opp. p. 162; observe the close analogies between the right group of witnesses in this *Crucifixion* and the listeners in the Budapest painting of the Baptist), and perhaps the exquisite small *Maestà* in the Art Institute, Chicago (cf. note 39 above), which, too, recalls Ugolino's art in addition to Duccio's? With the help of good photographs of details of all these paintings it should be possible to answer this question. Perhaps documentary evidence will be found which will answer the other question.

53. Cf. *Burlington Magazine*, LVI, 1930, pp. 255f.; pl. p. 251.

54. Reproduced in Brandi, *Duccio*, fig. 118; and cf. note 39 above.

55. This painting was published by Perkins (*Art in America*, VIII, 1920, pp. 196f.; fig. opp. p. 195) as an example of Duccio's school, but Van Marle (*op. cit.*, II, pp. 149f.) ascribed it to Segna's school. Curt Weigelt (*Sienese Painting of the Trecento*, Florence and New York, 1930, p. 74 n. 34) assigned it to the Duccio pupil who produced the Montepulciano *Madonna*, whose art according to the German scholar leads from Duccio to Ugolino.

56. The panel is attributed to a Duccio follower and reproduced in the catalogue of the exhibition held in the Städelches Kunstinstitut and entitled: *Ausstellung von Meisterwerken alter Malerei aus Privatbesitz Sommer 1925* (Frankfurt am Main, 1926, p. 67, No. 191; pl. IV). Weigelt (*op. cit.*, p. 72 n. 32) considered it to be possibly by the same Duccio pupil and from the same polyptych as the above mentioned *Mary Magdalen* in the Boston Museum (cf. note 48 above), while Berenson (*Italian Pictures of the Renaissance*, Oxford, 1932, p. 523; and Italian ed., 1936, p. 450) ascribed the painting to Segna, and Van Marle (*Le Scuole della pittura italiana*, l'Aja, 1932-1934, II, p. 140) assigned it to a follower of this artist.

57. Closely related in style to the group of paintings that have here been referred to as examples of Ugolino's art, but less subtle and in part somewhat provincial, are the works of an anonymous painter who has been given the name Goodhart Ducciesque Master. In Dorothy Shorr's recent iconographic study *The Christ Child in Devotional Images in Italy During the XIV Century*, New York, 1954, p. 154; figs. pp. 156,

As to the chronology of the works that are here assigned to Ugolino, the *Crucifix* fragment from Montepulciano and the Montalcino triptych (Fig. 15) would seem to belong to the artist's earliest products. The figures of Mary in these paintings show such important stylistic relations to the works of the Badia a Isola Master that this student is tempted to identify the anonymous painter with Ugolino's father and first teacher Nerio di Ugolino, who bought land and other property in Siena in 1311 and who was dead by July 1318.⁵⁸ The Badia a Isola Master's influence is still very evident in the *Madonna* at Langeais, which imitates the composition of Duccio's *Virgin and Child* in the polyptych No. 28 in the Siena Gallery and which may have been executed close to 1310.

In the early years of the second decade of the fourteenth century Ugolino imitated Duccio's fully developed art in the *Madonna* at New York (which is a close copy of the main figures in the *Maestà*) and in the panel at Montepulciano (which recalls the composition of the *Virgin and Child* in the pentaptych from Duccio's shop, No. 47 in the Siena Gallery; Fig. 12), in the polyptych at Siena (Fig. 11; like the representation at Langeais, the comparable one in this painting recalls the composition in the pentaptych No. 28, which work Duccio executed in part himself), and in the *Crucifix* at Montisi.

The group of works which came into existence after this shows a less close dependence upon Duccio and an influence of Simone's art in forms and drapery style, as seen in this artist's *Maestà* of 1315 in the Palazzo Pubblico, Siena,⁵⁹ and in his altarpiece of 1320 at Pisa (Fig. 10). To this group of paintings, which include some of Ugolino's finest works, belong the three panels at S. Casciano, the triptych in possession of the Conte Contini Bonacossi, the *Madonna* from the Tadini Buoninsegni Collection, the *Crucifixion* from the Toscanelli Collection (Fig. 18), the *Madonnas* at Boston and Princeton, the *Saints* at San Francisco and Eltville, and the *St. John the Baptist* at Cambridge. It is interesting to observe that this group contains the earliest examples of panels with pointed arches, a shape which dominates the latest group of paintings by Ugolino; and there are fewer examples, than are encountered in the earlier groups, of Duccio's preferred method of halo decoration of engraved scrollwork set against a crosshatched ground, there being instead more frequent use of engraved or stamped ornament set against a background dotted with the punch.

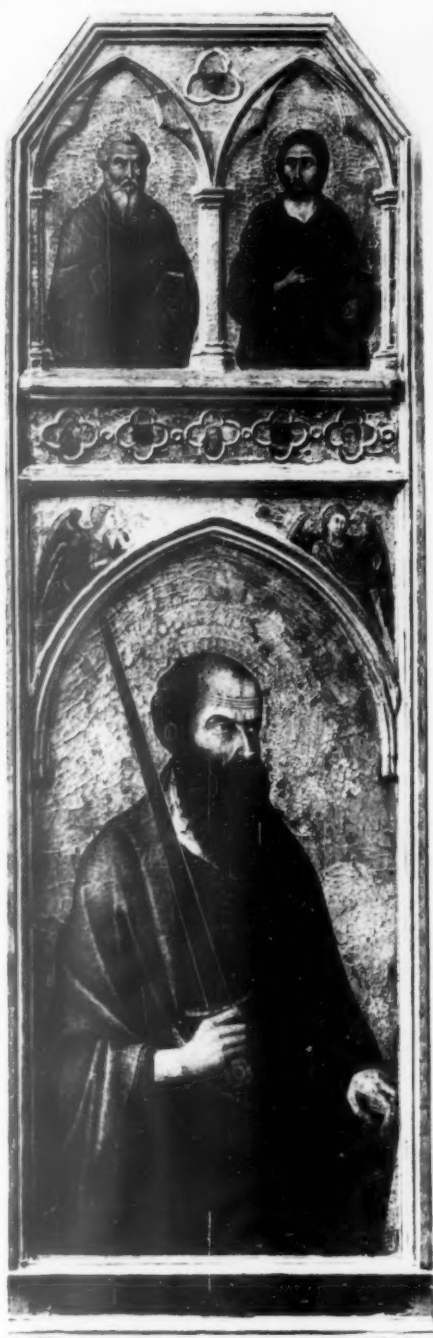
The main figure in the Lee *Crucifixion* forms a link between the Crucified in the panel from the Toscanelli Collection and the representations of Christ in the *Deposition* and *Entombment* from the S. Croce altarpiece, and it may have been composed close to 1320. In the following years would seem to have been painted the Brolio pentaptych, the Florence heptaptych, and the altarpiece to which belonged the Birmingham St. Francis. In this last group of paintings the figures are on the whole flatter and more emaciated than before, and occasionally they are very elongated.

157, which owes much to attributions by Richard Offner, this artist is credited with the production of the tiny enthroned *Madonna and Child with Two Donors*, formerly in the A. E. Goodhart Collection, New York, and now in possession of Robert Lehman and displayed in the Metropolitan Museum (L. 53.45.701), the left half of a diptych with the *Madonna and Child, Annunciation, and Nativity* in the Metropolitan Museum (Van Marle, *Italian Schools of Painting*, II, fig. 102), and the central panel of the restored pentaptych from the Kress Collection depicting the *Madonna and Child with a Bishop Saint, and SS. John the Baptist, Michael, and Dionysius the Areopagite(?)*, which work is now in the Art Museum at Birmingham, Ala. (Fig. 19; cf. Birmingham Museum of Art, *The Samuel H. Kress Collection*, 1952, p. 15). To these paintings I would like to add the pentaptych of the *Madonna and Child with SS. Marcellinus, Lawrence, Leonhard, and Augustine Martyr* in S. Lorenzo, Monterongifoli (Fig. 20; cf. De Nicola in *Burlington Magazine*, XXII, 1912, p. 147). The St. Lawrence in this work is a close imitation of his namesake in Ugolino's pentaptych in Siena (Fig. 11) and was painted

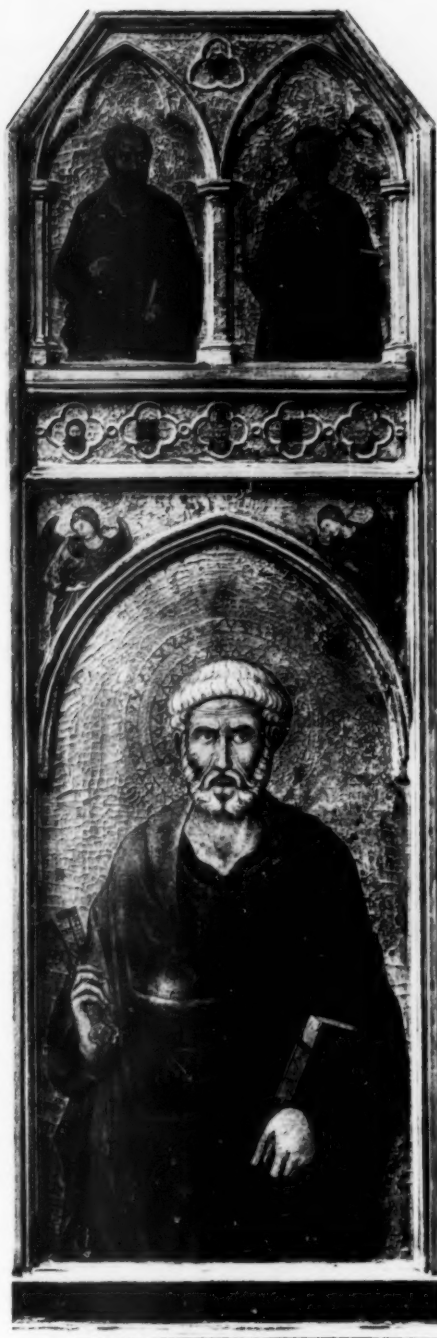
shortly after the model. More evolved is the diptych leaf in the Metropolitan Museum and especially the panel in Mr. Lehman's possession, which recalls examples of Ugolino's Simonesque phase. Most accomplished is the Birmingham polyptych, a product of the 1320's which brings to mind, in addition to works of Ugolino's middle period, Simone's triptych in the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge (*Burlington Magazine*, XCI, 1949, figs. 8-10), and such Simone-inspired paintings by Niccolò di Segna as the polyptych laterals of the early 1330's, No. 38 in the Siena Gallery (*Bollettino d'arte*, XXIX, 1935-1936, p. 8, fig. 5). Connected with the Birmingham *Madonna and Child* is an unknown representation of *St. Anne and the Virgin Mary*, originally in the center of an altarpiece, in possession of M. Knoedler and Company, New York.

58. The *Crucifix* fragment strikes me as a transitional example between the Badia a Isola Master's art and Ugolino's. A closely related *Madonna* in S. Maria della Grotta at Montecchio (Van Marle, *op.cit.*, II, fig. 44) is unfortunately placed so high that it cannot be properly studied.

59. *ibid.*, figs. 116-120.



1. St. Paul



2. St. Peter



3. St. John the Baptist

Formerly Kaiser Friedrich Museum



4. Moses



5. Aaron

Richmond, Cook Collection

1-5. Ugolino di Nerio. High Altarpiece for S. Croce, Florence



6. Last Supper. New York, Robert Lehman Collection



7. Worshipping Angels
Los Angeles County Museum

8. Daniel. Philadelphia Museum of Art, Johnson Collection

6-8. Ugolino di Nerio, High Altarpiece for S. Croce, Florence



9. Ugolino di Nerio. Polyptych. Brolio, Ricasoli Collection



10. Simone Martini. Polyptych. Pisa, Museo di S. Matteo



11. Ugolino di Nerio. Polyptych. Siena, Pinacoteca



12. Shop of Duccio. Polyptych. Siena, Pinacoteca



13. Ugolino di Nerio
St. Francis. Birmingham,
Barber Institute of Arts



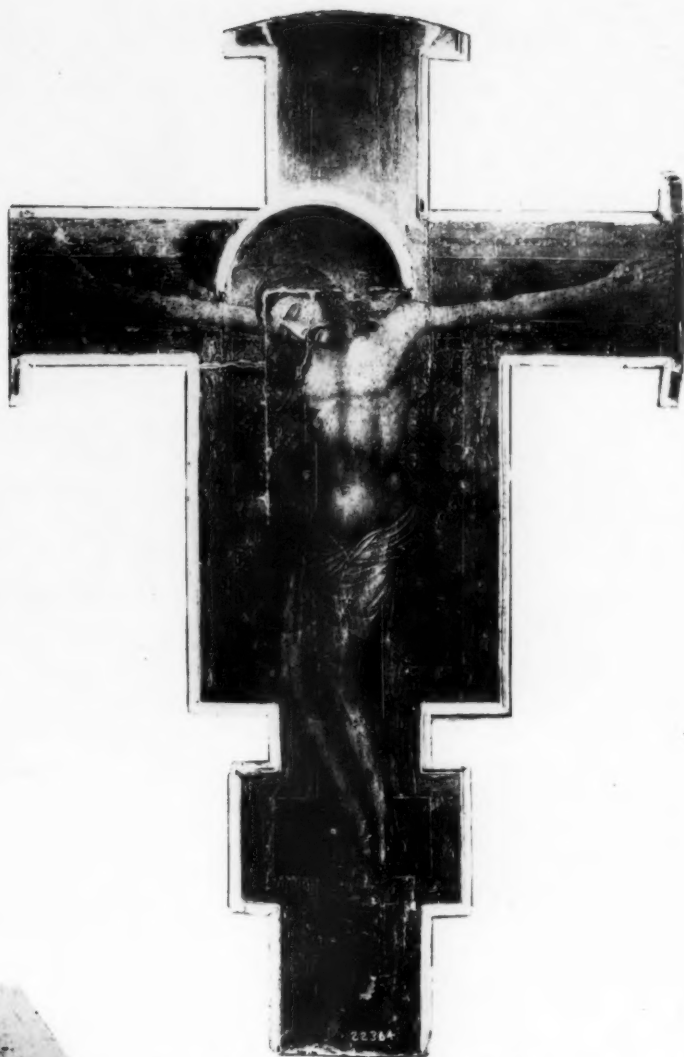
14. Ugolino di Nerio. Isaiah
Dublin, National Gallery of Ireland



15. Ugolino di Nerio. Tryptych (detail)
Montalcino, Palazzo Comunale



16. Ugolino di Nerio. *St. John the Baptist with a Franciscan Nun and Monk*. Cambridge, Fogg Museum of Art



17. Crucifix, here attributed to Ugolino di Nerio. Montisi, Pieve



18. *Crucifixion*, here attributed to Ugolino di Nerio
Whereabouts unknown



19. Goodhart Ducciesque Master. Polyptych. Birmingham, Museum of Art



20. Polyptych, here attributed to the Goodhart Ducciesque Master. Monterongriffoli, S. Lorenzo

Their gestures are more pointed than earlier, their expressions more specific, and their folds more angular. These characteristics, and especially the high-strung quality of the persons in Ugolino's Passion scenes, recall Giovanni Pisano's late narrative representations, primarily those of the pulpit in the Pisa Cathedral. Ugolino evidently studied this pulpit in addition to Simone's heptaptych shortly before he painted the high altarpiece for S. Croce. The haloes in the panels from this work are decorated with geometric and floral stamped patterns set against a plain background. This time-saving technique had been used earlier by Simone, in his *Maestà* fresco in the Palazzo Pubblico, Siena. Ugolino probably applied it in all the haloes of his largest work, but the quick method is not found elsewhere in his paintings. In general, it was used much less frequently in Siennese Trecento painting than was the method in which the background of the stamped patterns is worked with the punch.

PRINCETON, N.J.



PIRRO LIGORIO AND DECORATION OF THE LATE SIXTEENTH CENTURY AT FERRARA

DAVID R. COFFIN

IN July 1577 the Ferrarese painter Bartolomeo Faccini was killed by falling from a temporary scaffolding set up in the court of the Este Castle at Ferrara.¹ Faccini and his brother Girolamo had just completed decorating the four walls of the courtyard with frescoes depicting two hundred of the most notable members of the Este family which then ruled Ferrara. According to Cesare Cittadella, the Faccini had included a portrait of the contemporary duke, Alfonso II, with those of his ancestors. Since Alfonso II objected to the inclusion of his portrait, the artist had to erase it. It was only after all the scaffolding was removed that Bartolomeo Faccini discovered that he had forgotten to destroy the name and arms of the Duke which had been below this portrait. It was this which caused the erection of a temporary scaffolding from which Faccini plunged to his death.

Of these frescoes in the courtyard of the Castle there are preserved now only the faintest remains of three frescoes² showing six noble Estes (Fig. 1). Cittadella in the eighteenth century, although lamenting the condition of the frescoes at that time, does give a more complete description of the painting than can be made from the present remains: "Here as in chiaroscuro were painted various compartments divided by colonnades and frames, forming, as it were, many niches in which were painted standing portraits of these illustrious personages much greater than life size, done in a bright bronze color and highlighted with the greatest skill as if gilded statues, arranging two images in each division, and on the pedestals, painted beneath, are depicted their noble arms with the names of the Princes."³

In 1641 the engraver Catarino Doino created in honor of the Duke of Modena a series of prints depicting the Este rulers of Ferrara. According to his preface, Doino requested Antonio Cariola to contribute brief lives of the Estes to accompany the thirteen engravings.⁴ Each print is composed of a pair of portraits derived from the frescoes by the Faccini on the Castle at Ferrara. That these engravings are related to the frescoes at Ferrara is proven by the fact that the first print (Fig. 2) portraying Almerico and Tedaldo, the first and second marquises of Ferrara, resembles very closely the faded remains of the lower right panel still extant on the Castle (Fig. 1).

Five years later, when a new edition of Gasparo Sardi's history of Ferrara was brought out, the frescoes again served as a source for another set of engraved portraits of the Este marquises and dukes which faced each chapter in the book (Fig. 3).⁵ There are eleven of these illustrations containing twenty-two portraits. With some notable exceptions, Sardi's illustrations are almost identical

1. [C. Cittadella], *Catalogo istorico de' pittori e scultori ferraresi*, II, Ferrara, 1782, pp. 69-72.

2. There are actually four panels of fresco surface preserved on the wall of the Castle courtyard, but only three of these panels have any visible remains of fresco painting.

3. [C. Cittadella], *op.cit.*, pp. 69-70.

4. A. Cariola, *Ritratti de ser.^{mi} principi d'Este Sig.^{rt} di Ferrara*, Ferrara, 1641.

Doino's engravings also exist as a series of independent prints. The only difference that I can note between the engravings used as illustrations in the book written by Cariola preserved in the British Museum and the independent prints in the Bibliothèque Nationale is that each of the book illustrations is identified in the left-hand corner of the title of the print merely

by a lower case letter of the alphabet from "a" to "n," while the French engravings add the same letter in capitals at the right side of the title.

Despite the preface in Cariola's book signed by Catarino Doino in which he refers to the illustrations as "miei intagli" these prints have been attributed to the Ferrarese painter and engraver Giuseppe Caletti following A. Bartsch, *Le Peintre graveur*, XX, Vienna, 1820, pp. 135-136, nos. 11-23 (see also C. le Blanc, *Manuel de l'amateur d'estampes*, Paris, 1854-1888, I, p. 563, nos. 8-20 and J. Seznec, "Dessins à la gloire des princes d'Este à l'Ashmolean Museum," *La Revue des arts*, IV, 1954, p. 25).

5. G. Sardi, *Libro delle historie ferraresi*, revised by A. Faustini, Ferrara, 1646.

with the prints by Doino. In fact, the first plate in Sardi's book, containing portraits of Almerico and Tedaldo, is closer to the original fresco than the Doino print is (Fig. 2), since in the latter the figure of Tedaldo has been reversed so that his head is turned to the right and his left arm is brought across his body.

There is, however, more evidence for the reconstruction of these genealogical frescoes than just the seventeenth century engravings. In the Ashmolean Museum at Oxford are twenty-four drawings, each showing a pair of members of the Este family.⁶ They are full length figures standing before an architectural setting which generally includes columns, doors, and niches (Fig. 5). In the niches are often depicted small statues of allegorical figures in classic guise. In addition to the Oxford drawings there are four drawings in the British Museum at London, which belong to the same series (Fig. 4),⁷ and two privately owned in England.⁸ At Florence in the Gabinetto dei Disegni of the Uffizi there is a drawing of the same nature, but its height probably precludes its belonging to the same series as the English drawings.⁹ However, it is certainly a drawing by the same hand and belongs to this project of a series of genealogical portraits of the Este family.

There is no question that these drawings were executed by the sixteenth century Neapolitan artist and archaeologist Pirro Ligorio. Ligorio was not a distinguished draughtsman, and the drawings of the Este family reveal all the faults as well as the characteristics that are to be seen in the drawings by Ligorio in the large collections of his manuscripts at Naples and Turin,¹⁰ or in the fresco, *Dance of Salome*, by him in the Oratorio of S. Giovanni Decollato at Rome.¹¹ Characteristic of Ligorio are the heavy, rather doughy figures with large, flabby, almost boneless hands. The great interest in the archaeological detail of the architectural setting decorated with small classic statues is very apparent in the S. Giovanni Decollato fresco as well as in the manuscript drawings. The drawings at Oxford present an archaeologist's interest in ancient costume; there are even fragments, on the edge of some of the drawings, of Ligorio's notes as to the type of costume.¹² Thus, on drawing H at Oxford he labels the apparel of Johannes II, Grand Master of Prussia, as "habito Greca" (Fig. 5).

Pirro Ligorio, who was born at Naples in 1513 or 1514, entered the service of Alfonso II d'Este, Duke of Ferrara, on December 1, 1568, as the Ducal antiquarian to succeed Enea Vico.¹³ Ligorio

6. The Ashmolean drawings which were purchased in 1947 are executed in pen and brown ink with a brownish-yellow wash on white paper. There are traces of black pencil beneath the ink. Each of the drawings has been marked later in faint pencil on its lower edge with a letter of the alphabet from A to X. These drawings vary slightly in size: height 22.4 cm to 24.8 cm; width 11.3 cm to 13.5 cm.

While this study was in preparation there appeared the article by J. Seznec (*op.cit.*, pp. 21-26) which published three of the Ashmolean drawings and noted the existence of the other drawings. This article, however, did not go very closely into the relationship between the drawings, frescoes, and engravings and did not discuss their historical significance.

7. Acquisition nos. 1947-3-5-1, 1947-3-5-2, 1947-3-5-3, and 1947-3-5-4.

8. J. Seznec, *op.cit.*, p. 24.

9. No. 1375 Figura; height 25 cm; width at top 12.7 cm, at bottom 12 cm. These dimensions agree, of course, very well with those of the English drawings, but it must be noted that the height of the latter at a maximum of 24.8 cm also includes a large lower margin which contains the name of each of the figures. The Uffizi drawing, on the other hand, does not have this lower margin or inscription. The Uffizi drawing, done in the same technique as the English ones, is attributed in Florence to Polidoro da Caravaggio but bears a note that Mr. Philip Pouncey has attributed it to Pirro Ligorio.

10. Naples, Biblioteca Nazionale, MSS XIII.B.1-10 and Turin, Archivio di Stato, MSS J.a.III.3-16 and J.a.II.1-16.

11. H. Voss, *Die Malerei der Spätrenaissance in Rom und Florenz*, Berlin, 1920, I, pp. 254-256 and II, p. 570; A. Mo-

digliani, "Due affreschi di Pirro Ligorio nell'Oratorio dell'Arciconfraternità di San Giovanni Decollato," *Rivista del R. Istituto d'archeologia e storia dell'arte*, III (1931), pp. 184-188; and A. Venturi, *Storia dell'arte italiana*, IX, pt. 5, Milan, 1932, pp. 777-781.

12. Perhaps the best comparative example to show Ligorio's interest in and knowledge of classic apparel is volume two of his notebooks at Naples (Biblioteca Nazionale, MS XIII.B.2) which has drawings and text devoted solely to classic costume as evidenced by classic sculpture.

13. Modena, Archivio di Stato, Camera Ducale, Bolletta Salariati: Vol. del 1569, Provisionati, f. 141:

Al nome d'Iddio MDLXVIII
m/ Pirro Ligorio Antiquario con prouisione de sc.^{ti} venticinque d.^o in^o: il mese: principiando il suo seruire adi p.^{mo} Xmbre dlo anno 1568 pss.^o passato, di com'iss.^e dlli m.^l ss.^{ri} Duc^{li} Fattori gnti et anco appare m.^{to} Ducale. (Contraction indications have been omitted from this passage.)

However, Ligorio probably did not move to Ferrara until the late spring or summer of 1569. There is a very important letter published in part by V. Pacifici (*Ippolito II d'Este: Cardinale di Ferrara*, Tivoli [1920], p. 399) dated April 10, 1569, which seems to be a letter of presentation regarding Ligorio to the Duke from his ambassador. If this is a letter of presentation, Ligorio could only have reached Ferrara by the spring of 1569, and his stipend beginning December 1568 would probably be earned by his activity on the Duke's behalf while still in Rome. There are also records of payment to Ligorio as "Antiquarian of the Very Excellent Signor Duke" from the Cardinal of Ferrara at Rome in February, April, and

was not solely an antiquarian, since, after his arrival at Rome from Naples about 1534,¹⁴ he acquired his first fame as a painter primarily of house façades in the tradition of Polidoro da Caravaggio. Baglione in his seventeenth century *Vite* describes many of these paintings, which, of course, no longer exist. The decoration consisted of friezes of figures, trophies, floral rinceaux, and occasionally scenes from Roman history executed in chiaroscuro with frequent mention of the use of yellow.¹⁵ During this time Ligorio was also gathering together a wealth of archaeological and classical knowledge most of which is still preserved in his manuscripts at Naples, Turin, and the Bodleian Library at Oxford. His first contact with the Este family occurred when he was hired by Ippolito II d'Este, the Cardinal of Ferrara and uncle of Duke Alfonso II, as an antiquarian, in 1549.¹⁶ When the Cardinal of Ferrara had to retire to North Italy in 1555 in disfavor with Pope Paul IV, Ligorio soon turned up, in 1557, in the Papal service as Architect of the Vatican, a position which he held also under Pope Pius IV and during which time he was extremely active in the numerous architectural projects of Pius IV.¹⁷ The succession of Pope Pius V in 1566 was not favorable to the artistic plans and acquisition of classical sculpture which Ligorio promoted under Pius IV so that Pirro returned to work for the Cardinal of Ferrara. It was at this time that Ligorio carried almost to completion the planning and decoration of the lovely gardens for the Cardinal's Villa at Tivoli.¹⁸

Among the drawings by Ligorio of the Este nobles two in the British Museum (nos. 1947-3-5-1 and 1947-3-5-2) correspond to the fragments of fresco preserved on the Este Castle at Ferrara. On the other hand, several of the Oxford and British Museum drawings have also been the source for the engravings by Doino and the illustrations in Sardi's history of Ferrara. For example, the British Museum drawing (no. 1947-3-5-2) with portraits of Fulco III and Bonifazio IV (Fig. 4) was used for the Sardi engraving of the Marquises Almerico and Tedaldo (Fig. 3). Since Ligorio did not limit himself to the Este rulers of Ferrara, the engravers have selected the ruling nobles from the drawings and reassembled them in new pairs. In doing so many of the figures have been reversed and at times changes have been made in costume, gestures, and even identification of the

July 1569 (Modena, Archivio di Stato, Camera Ducale, Casa Amministrazione: Registri del Cardinale Ippolito II, Pacco 119: Registro del 1569, f. 20, February 5, 1569 and April 4, 1569, and f. 48, July 23, 1569).

14. Ligorio reports in the Turin MSS, vol. 1, f. 3r that he lived thirty-five years in Rome, and, as he left Rome for Ferrara in 1569, this would suggest that he arrived in Rome about 1534. For the Turin statement see H. Dessau, in *Sitzungsberichte der königlich preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin*, 1883, p. 1077 n. 1.

15. G. Baglione, *Le Vite de' pittori, scultori et architetti*, Rome, 1642, pp. 9-10. See also W. Hirschfeld, *Quellenstudien zur Geschichte der Fassadenmalerei in Rom. im XVI. und XVII. Jahrhundert* (Diss.), Halle, 1911, pp. 10-12 and R. Lanciani, "Ricordi inediti di artisti del secolo XVI: II. Pirro Ligorio pittore," *Ausonia*, 1 (1906), pp. 101-102. V. Moschini mentioned that there were "pale remains on the lateral façade of the house at Via Campomarzio 30" (V. Moschini, *S. Giovanni Decollato* [Le chiese di Roma illustrate, n. 26], Rome, n.d., p. 49), but in 1952 these remains were unidentifiable.

16. A. Serafini, *Girolamo da Carpi, pittore e architetto ferrarese (1501-1556)*, Rome, 1915, p. 344 n. 2.

17. Ligorio's first appearance as architect in the Papal accounts is on January 11, 1558, when he is paid twenty-five golden *scudi* as his monthly salary for January (R. Ancel, "Le Vatican sous Paul IV: Contribution à l'histoire du palais pontifical," *Revue bénédictine*, xxv, 1908, p. 55). However, this payment says that the "provision of the present month has been granted to him again [*di nuovo*] by Our Lord," implying that he has been paid similarly before, although there is no record of it. W. Friedländer (*Das Kasino Pius des Vierten*, Leipzig, 1912, p. 123 n. 8) believed that Ligorio was involved

in work for the Pope from May 1555, soon after the election of Pope Paul IV, and in support of this argument referred to a mandate of August 1558 in which Ligorio was ordered to receive a large sum of money for the period from May 1555 through February 1558. However, this mandate says that the money should be paid to "Master Pirro Ligorio, Architect of the Palace, or Master Baldassare Opizio, Treasurer of the Reverend Bishop of Forli, Secret Treasurer of His Holiness, who should disburse this money," for work done from May 1555 through February 1558 (Rome, Archivio di Stato, Mandati Camerali 904, ff. 131v-132r). The money, therefore, is not being paid to Ligorio for work executed by him in that period, but rather he is simply to act as the disbursing agent of money due for work accomplished during the period.

More evidence that Ligorio entered the Papal employ only late in 1557 is furnished in one of the many letters written by Ligorio's friend Antonio Agustín, then Bishop of Alife, to Onofrio Panvinio. Agustín's letter of November 27, 1557, relates that "Messer Pirro the painter is in the favor of His Holiness." Since this letter is in the midst of a series in which Ligorio's activities are noted, it suggests that Ligorio's employment by the Pope is a new matter in November 1557, and this in turn agrees with the documents which we have noted (see A. Agustín, *Antonii Augustini archiepiscopi Tarraconensis epistolae Latinae et Italicae*, ed. by J. Andresio, Parma, 1804, p. 302).

18. I hope soon to present a detailed study of the gardens and pictorial decoration of the Villa d'Este at Tivoli on which I have been working now several years. I have also gathered a great deal of information on Pirro Ligorio himself, but it will still require a long time before this material can be presented as a biography of Ligorio.

nobles. The engravings also cut off the figures below the knee and omit architectural settings.

Ligorio, of course, did not execute the frescoes on the Ferrarese Castle depicting the members of the Este family. The painting itself, as we have seen, was carried out by the Faccini brothers. However, Ligorio must have planned and arranged this series of portraits, and the drawings probably represent the remains of a manuscript, or possibly a scroll,¹⁹ which was presented to the Duke for his approval. It would require a learned man, such as the Duke's antiquarian, to select from Pigna's history of the Estes the personages who were to be depicted and to arrange them, as Ligorio has, in pairs, usually of brothers or father and son. That the historical source for these genealogical portraits of the Estes was the genealogical tree in the history of the family first published at Ferrara in 1570 by the Ducal Secretary G. B. Pigna²⁰ is proven by the fact that Ligorio specifies a date in relation to an Este noble and notes it in his inscription below the picture only when Pigna does.²¹

Originally there must have been one hundred drawings by Ligorio for the frescoes, since the inscription which formerly stood in the court below the painting specifies that two hundred nobles of the Este family were depicted.²² There are preserved, therefore, thirty-one of the original drawings, including the Florentine example, but an idea of some of the other portraits is furnished by the engravings. The two sets of engravings, the illustrations in Sardi and Doino's prints, are difficult to analyze as to their accuracy because of the changes made in gestures and costumes. The engravers of both must have gone back in each case to Ligorio's drawings, since in different prints they vary as to which is more accurate, although in general the illustrations in Sardi's history are closer to the drawings.²³ These engravings, however, furnish an approximate idea then of twelve of the portraits which are no longer known in drawings or painting. This means that with the

19. J. Seznec, *op.cit.*, p. 24, seems to propose that the drawings were part of a continuous scroll, "une longue bande continue."

20. G. B. Pigna, *Historia de principi di Este*, Ferrara, 1570. I have used the second edition published at Venice in 1572.

21. The only two discrepancies between Ligorio and Pigna are undoubtedly the result of errors. Once Ligorio by mistake denotes Heinrich XVII, Duke of Groningen, as number XVI of the name (Oxford, Ashmolean Museum, drawing labeled T), and the other time Ligorio corrects Pigna who calls Otto XII, Duke of Brunswick, the eleventh of that name, although Pigna has previously listed another Otto XI.

22. M. A. Guarini, *Compendio historico dell'origine, accrescimento, e prerogative delle chiese, e luoghi pii della città, e diocesi di Ferrara*, 1621, p. 188:

"Atiae gentis Principum a C. Atio Pob. genus ducentium, gentilium, & Agnatorum suorum, quorum perpetua serie, in Italia supra MCC. Annos & in Germania, ex Vuelforum haereditate, nouoq; imperio late dominantium res gestae Historia ad memoriam sempiternam explicari fecerat, has etiam Imagines, una cum insignibus, quibus illi utebantur, in hoc Arcio a se instauratae Atrio suscipiendas proposuit Serenissimus Alfonsus II. Ferrariae Dux. Anno Domini MDLXXVII."

The reference in the inscription to an unbroken series of Estes in Italy for twelve hundred years is to be found paralleled in Pigna's history (*op.cit.*, p. 3), which is another proof of the relationship between the book and the paintings.

23. An analysis of the relationship between Ligorio's drawings and the engravings is as follows:

Oxford drawing F = Sardi p. 64 except that Azzo X is numbered Azzo VIII in the engraving. Doino's print D shows many changes in costume and gesture.

Oxford drawing G = Sardi p. 130 in reverse with minor deviations in gestures. Sardi changes the names of the nobles from Obizio VII to Rinaldo III and from Nicolo to Azzo XI. Doino G in this case is slightly closer to the drawing in gestures, but not costume, and labels the figures as in Sardi.

The left figure in the Oxford drawing I = the right figure of Sardi p. 158 in reverse. Doino H is very similar to Sardi but

the costume and gestures show minor changes.

The left figure in Oxford J = the left figure of Sardi p. 172. Doino I has the same figure but with slight variations in the costume.

The left figure in Oxford N = the right figure of Sardi p. 172 in reverse. Doino I is similar to Sardi but shows alterations in costume and gesture.

The right figure in Oxford N = the left figure of Sardi p. 190 in reverse with changes in costume and gesture. The left figure of Doino K is similar but with more extensive changes in costume and gesture than Sardi.

The right figure in Oxford O = the right figure of Sardi p. 190 with major deviations in gesture and hat. The right figure of Doino K is similar to Sardi but the hat is taken from the Ligorio drawing.

British Museum drawing 1947-3-5-2 = Sardi p. 20 except that the figures in Sardi are renamed Almerico and Tedaldo. Doino's print A reverses the figure of Tedaldo.

It has been noted already that the Sardi illustration on p. 20 showing Almerico and Tedaldo is closer to the extant fresco at Ferrara than Doino's print A. On the other hand Doino B with portraits of Bonifacio III and Matilda is certainly more in the style of Ligorio's drawings than Sardi's illustration on p. 38 which has no resemblance to the Doino print and is drawn in an older, less Renaissance style.

The portrait of Cesare I d'Este in Doino's engraving N may not be derived from a drawing by Ligorio, but his counterpart, Alfonso II, may be, since, as we have seen, the eighteenth century historians relate that the Faccini had painted a likeness of Alfonso II on the Castle, which was only removed after the objections of the Duke.

Three of the drawings at Oxford have some of the outlines of the figures traced upon the back of the drawing presumably by one of the engravers (drawing G both figures, drawing J left figure, drawing O both figures). In two of these drawings (G and J) the Sardi engraving is closer to the drawing, while in drawing O neither print is identical with the drawing, suggesting that it was more likely the engraver of the Sardi portraits who traced the drawings.

extant fragments of painting there are preserved at least seventy-two out of the original two hundred portraits.²⁴

The Este family of Ferrara had long been interested in the genealogy of their house, and legendary accounts of the origin of the family date back to the Middle Ages. In the thirteenth century Paolo Marro claimed that the Estes were descended from a Trojan prince Martus who attacked Milan.²⁵ A century later a more unfavorable legend, spread by their Paduan enemies, singled out as the progenitor of the Estes Ganelon of Mainz, the infamous traitor to Charlemagne at Roncevaux.²⁶ The latter legend lived long enough to haunt Ercole I d'Este, when, after the battle of Fornovo in 1495, he visited Venice to be greeted by the taunts of the street urchins:

Marquis of Ferrara, of the House of Mainz,
You will lose your state in spite of the King of France.²⁷

In the late Quattrocento the nobility of Ferrara was so interested in French romances, such as *Tristan* and *Palamedes*, that they not only named their children after the heroes and heroines of these romances²⁸ but desired their own versions of such tales. This is the source of inspiration of the great Ferrarese poems of Boiardo, Ariosto, and Tasso. In all these poems the authors introduce references to the genealogy of the Estes and their most notable deeds. So Boiardo in *Orlando Innamorato* (Book II, Canto XXI) specifies his hero Ruggiero as the ancestor of the Estes, and Ruggiero, in his turn, was descended from Hector of Troy. Later (Book II, Canto XXV) Boiardo describes a loggia decorated with the exploits of four of the Este rulers.²⁹ Ariosto continues the story begun by Boiardo and in *Orlando Furioso* (Canto III) has the magician Merlino summon up for Bradamante the shades of the future nobles of the Este family as Vergil reveals in the *Aeneid* the descent of Augustus from Aeneas. Finally Tasso has the wizard in *Gerusalemme Liberata* (Canto XVII) point out to Rinaldo his Este ancestry back to the Roman Caius Atius as it was depicted on a wondrous shield.

In the mid sixteenth century the Ducal secretary of Ercole II d'Este, Cinzio Giraldi, out of deference to his master, expanded the legendary genealogy of the Estes to include the ancient hero Hercules as ancestor of the family. Giraldi in his commentary on Ferrara and the Estes recounts the older legends of descent from the Trojan Antenor and even the Biblical Noah, but then he adds:

I can scarcely be persuaded that it [the Este race] had its origin from the ordinary beginnings of mortals. . . . Wherefore I come generally to the conclusion that I believe that the Este race (which we have developed more fully in Lydian meter in our *Hercule*) is descended from ancient Hercules. . . . Hence I have always considered those who taught that the Este princes received their origin from the most noble family of Gauls much more correct than others thought, for I know that the ancient Hercules whom we believe to be the author of this race, having conquered Geryon and overcome the Pyrenees, proceeded into Gaul. There he married Galata, daughter of the King of the Celts. . . . By her, Hercules had a son Galatis who, when he succeeded his grandfather in the kingdom (for Hercules went down into Italy from Gaul) wished the Celts to be called Gauls [*Gallos*] by the addition of the letter L to his name. I would believe that the royal families of Gaul come from his progeny. Thence, I cannot deny, just as water comes together in a stream from a spring, comes this very noble Este family, which now among the others of Italy, however illustrious, occupies a princely rank, and I must agree with those who testify that this outstanding family has arisen from the most illustrious nobility of the Gauls. But if this which is repeated above should seem much too much to some,

24. The number seventy-two does not include the two drawings in a private collection in England the subject matter of which I have no knowledge. It is very possible that those two drawings may contain the image of four more lost portraits, if they do not correspond to any of the engravings.

25. L. A. Muratori, *Delle antichità Estensi ed italiane*, part 1, Modena, 1717, pp. 67-68.

26. P. Rajna, *Le Fonti dell'Orlando Furioso*, 2nd ed.,

Florence, 1900, pp. 136-137 and P. Rajna, "Le origini delle famiglie padovane," *Romania*, IV (1875), pp. 161-183.

27. E. G. Gardner, *Dukes and Poets in Ferrara*, New York, n.d., p. 319.

28. G. Bertoni, *La Biblioteca Estense e la coltura ferrarese ai tempi del Duca Ercole (1471-1505)*, Turin, 1903, p. 72.

29. See P. Rajna, *Le Fonti dell'Orlando Furioso*, pp. 133-134 and E. G. Gardner, *op.cit.*, pp. 286 and 292.

I ask that this indulgence be given me, and I ask them to be no less fair to me, because I carry the origin of this famous family back to Hercules, than Roman antiquity was to Livy, since he testified that Mars was the progenitor of the family of Romulus, founder of the Roman Empire.³⁰

The Ducal secretary of Alfonso II d'Este, G. B. Pigna, then published in 1570 his history of the Estes in which he mentions only briefly that the Estes were descended from the Trojans.³¹ Pigna, however, by means of a genealogical tree added to his book, as well as by the text, works out in an historical manner the continuous descent of the Estes from the Roman Caius Atius. This desire to prove their Roman ancestry provokes the Estes' great desire to collect and own all ancient Roman inscriptions, and some forgeries, which mention the family of Atius, since it was common belief that the name Este was derived from Atius.³²

As has been noted, Pigna's history is the source for Ligorio's genealogical drawings, but these drawings and the frescoes derived from them are not the only example in the pictorial arts of the Este interest in their genealogy. Cinzio Giralaldi relates that the painter Girolamo da Carpi painted for Ercole II a series of portraits of the Este rulers of Ferrara, commencing with Azzo IV, on the royal palace at Copparo.³³ These paintings, which were destroyed in 1808, were probably executed sometime between 1542 and about 1547.³⁴ The dates of these two sets of genealogical portraits, one in the forties, the other in the seventies, correspond to one of the most troublesome political problems—although they had many—which bothered the Ferrarese rulers during the sixteenth century. This was the question of order of precedence particularly with the Medici rulers of Florence at the Papal, Imperial, and various royal courts of Europe.³⁵

In September 1541 when the Emperor Charles V came to Lucca to meet Pope Paul III the

30. G. B. Giralaldi Cintio, "De Ferraria et Atestinis principibus commentariolum," in J. G. Graevius and P. Burmann, *Thesaurus antiquitatum et historiarum Italicae*, VII, pt. 1, Leyden, 1722, cols. 4-5. Giralaldi's history of Ferrara was apparently written in 1544 and first published at Ferrara in 1556.

Ultimately Giralaldi's source of the story of Hercules' son as ruler of Gaul is Diodorus Siculus (V, ii).

Giralaldi also wrote a poem (*Dell'Ercole*, Modena, 1557), dedicated to Duke Ercole II, in which he relates the descent of the Estes from Hercules (cantos IX and XIII).

Actually Hercules had been associated with the Estes earlier, as is indicated by a letter describing the festivities at Rome in 1502 in honor of the marriage of Lucrezia Borgia to Alfonso I d'Este (F. Gregorovius, *Lucrezia Borgia*, New York, 1948, pp. 142-143). In this case Hercules is apparently not to be considered an ancestor of the Estes but merely an honorific reference to Ercole I, then Duke of Ferrara and father of the bridegroom. However, by the time of Ercole II, when Cinzio Giralaldi was writing his several works on Hercules, the labors of Hercules became a quite frequent subject for representation in Ferrarese court art (see F. Antal, "Observations on Girolamo da Carpi," *ART BULLETIN*, XXX, 1948, pp. 88-89); in fact, the court of the Este Palace at Ferrara was decorated at this time by the Dossi brothers with the deeds of Hercules executed in grisaille (G. Vasari, *Le Vite de' più eccellenti pittori, scultori ed architettori*, ed. by G. Milanesi, v, Florence, 1880, p. 98 and G. Baruffaldi, *Vite de' pittori e scultori ferraresi*, Ferrara, 1846, I, pp. 254-258).

Hercules, therefore, became the legendary hero and ancestor of the Este family and appears in such decoration as that of the Villa d'Este at Tivoli, which I shall discuss in my study of the villa. Even today a statue of Hercules is the main decoration in a niche on the façade of the seventeenth century Este Palace at Modena.

31. I have used the second edition: G. B. Pigna, *Historia de principi di Este*, Venice, 1572, p. 2.

32. D. Fava, "Alfonso II d'Este raccogliatore di codici greci," *Rendiconti: Reale istituto lombardo di scienze e lettere*, ser. 2, LI (1918), pp. 484-485 and p. 496.

33. G. B. Giralaldi Cintio, "De Ferraria et Atestinis principibus commentariolum," cols. 12-13 and col. 54.

34. G. Baruffaldi, *Vite*, I, p. 388 n. 1, gives the date of the destruction of the paintings.

Baruffaldi (p. 388) also prints an inscription which he claims belonged to these portraits by Girolamo da Carpi, relating that the painting was done on the order of Ercole II in 1534. As all later historians have pointed out, this date is impossible, since Ercole II, who built the palace at Copparo, only succeeded to the Dukedom in November 1534 which would never leave enough time in 1534 for the building and then decoration of the palace. Perhaps the date in Baruffaldi should read 1544, since there is documentation for painting at Copparo by the Dossi in 1542 and 1543 (A. Serafini, *Girolamo da Carpi*, Rome, 1915, p. 213). A. Frizzi (*Memorie per la storia di Ferrara*, 2nd ed., Ferrara, 1848, IV, p. 337) wrote in the late eighteenth century that Ercole II "se ne costrusse un nuovo [luogo di delizia] in quest'anno [1540] nella villa di Coparo ad uso di caccia, e poi 7 anni dopo vi alzò il vasto palagio che tuttavia sussiste, il che distintamente si ricorda dalle due iscrizioni in marmo che vi si leggono." See also L. N. Cittadella, *Notizie amministrative storiche, artistiche relative a Ferrara*, Ferrara, 1868, pp. 544-545 and G. Gruyer, *L'Art ferrarais à l'époque des princes d'Este*, Paris, 1897, I, pp. 486-487.

35. See P. Capei, "Saggio di atti e documenti nella controversia di precedenza tra il Duca di Firenze e quello di Ferrara negli anni 1562-1573," *Archivio storico italiano*, n.s., VII, pt. 2 (1858), pp. 93-116; V. Santi, "La precedenza tra gli Estensi e i Medici e la historia de' principi d'Este di G. Battista Pigna," *Atti della deputazione ferrarese di storia patria*, IX (1897), pp. 37-122; P. Gribaudi, "Questioni di precedenza fra le corti italiane nel secolo XVI," *Rivista di scienze storiche*, I (1904), pp. 166-177, 278-285, and 347-356; and E. Palandri, *Les Négociations politiques et religieuses entre la Toscane et la France à l'époque de Cosme I^{er} et de Catherine de Médicis (1544-1580)*, Paris, 1908, pp. 37-52. Santi's study in 1897 is by far the most detailed and most relevant to this study; the other works simply present additional documents and evidence regarding the quarrel. Therefore, the major source for my discussion of the argument is Santi.

former upset the usual order of precedence by permitting Ercole II d'Este, Duke of Ferrara, to ride at his right side, while Cosimo I de' Medici, Duke of Florence, had to be content with the inferior left-hand position. Later at the banquet at Lucca this favoring of the Estes continued when the Duke of Ferrara was granted the honor of handing the napkin to the Emperor. At Christmas of the same year the Ferrarese ambassador on the precedent of the Imperial courtesy at Lucca claimed and received a more honorific position in the Papal Chapel at Rome than the Florentine ambassador, despite the complaints and anger of the latter. Early in 1542, however, the Pope reversed his decision, which simply increased the fervor of the controversy. The quarrel soon spread to the various courts of Europe with the Medici usually in favor, but fortunes of favor often changed rapidly depending upon the relations between the two contestants and each court.

The marriage in 1558 of Lucrezia de' Medici, daughter of Cosimo I, to Alfonso II d'Este, who became Duke of Ferrara in 1559, brought only a temporary respite to the controversy, which became intensified after the death of the Medici Duchess of Ferrara in 1561. At this time the Ferrarese began to gain the advantage, at least at the Imperial court and in Venice, but the most serious blow was inflicted when Pope Pius V granted Cosimo I the title of Grand Duke of Tuscany late in 1569. Immediately the Este agents protested to the Emperor Maximilian II regarding the Medici promotion. The Emperor, irritated by the idea of the Pope encroaching upon what he considered his prerogatives in respect to Imperial fiefs, annulled in 1570 the title and honors accorded to the Medici by the Pope and ordered a presentation of both sides of the controversy at the Imperial court. However, Pope Pius V and his successor, Gregory XIII, persisted in their support of the Medici.

Both the Medici and the Estes had attempted earlier to strengthen their position at the Imperial court by marriage. In 1565 Duke Alfonso II married Barbara, Archduchess of Austria and sister of the Emperor, while her sister Johanna became the wife of Francesco de' Medici, son of Cosimo I. Again the fortunes of the Estes were adverse, for Barbara of Austria, Duchess of Ferrara, died in 1572. It was inevitable that by 1576 an Imperial decree was published with Papal approval authorizing the Medici to carry the title of Grand Duke. The quarrel between the two families lingered on to the middle of the eighties when, aided by the marriage in 1583 of Cesare d'Este, son of Don Alfonso, to Virginia de' Medici, daughter of Cosimo I, the two Cardinals of the families, Ferdinando de' Medici and Luigi d'Este, brought about amicable relationships.

In the controversy regarding precedence the principal argument used by the Estes and feared by the Medici was the continuous lineage of the Estes as rulers of Ferrara and their earlier attainment than the Medici to the rank of Duke. It was on "the antiquity of family, the antiquity of the rank of Duke, the antiquity of the city of Ferrara, the nobility of the many great German houses related with that of the Este, and the antiquity of the states dependent and subject"³⁶ to Alfonso II that the Estes rested their case. Venceslao Santi has already shown how this quarrel regarding precedence was the motivating force for the numerous histories of Ferrara and of the Estes which appeared in the sixteenth century, and that it was particularly Pigna's history, published in 1570, which was the official Ferrarese instrument of propaganda for their cause. Actually Pigna's book was based upon the preliminary work of Girolamo Faletti, the Ferrarese ambassador at Venice, who died in 1564. Faletti had also begun a genealogical tree of the Estes which was completed by Pigna and published in 1565 in an engraving by Enea Vico. Pigna also relates that there was as decoration in the Ducal museum at Ferrara a large genealogical tree based upon the investi-

36. V. Santi, *op.cit.*, p. 85. The fear of the Medici in respect to this argument of the Estes is to be seen in the instructions quoted by Gribaudi (*op.cit.*, p. 285) that Cosimo I gave to the Florentine ambassador to France that in any discussion

with the Queen he was not to talk about Florence as a duchy but only to speak of it as a republic or state "poiche il Duca di Ferrara vuol combattere contro questo titolo di Duca con la pretenzione di essere più antico duca."

gations of the earlier Ferrarese historian Alessandro Sardi on which were listed "those families of German princes, and the other nobles which there have been from the Roman republic until now."³⁷

Not only were the diplomats, lawyers, and historians involved in the dispute but, as Santi notes, "as Pigna is the historian of the controversy, Tasso is the poet."³⁸ Tasso's genealogical shield in the *Gerusalemme Liberata* is based upon the research of historians such as Alessandro and Gasparo Sardi, Cinzio Giraldi, and Faletti. In fact, after Pigna's death in 1575 Tasso attempted to succeed him as historian of the Estes. Although unsuccessful in this, the poet later wrote a dialogue, unpublished until the nineteenth century, entitled *Della precedenza*.³⁹ Tasso's epic *Gerusalemme* is not his only poetry concerned with praise of the antiquity and nobility of the Estes, for the poet wrote two sonnets upon the genealogical paintings by the Faccini in the courtyard at Ferrara,⁴⁰ and on December 10, 1581, Tasso wrote from his confinement in the Ospedale di Sant' Anna: "I am thinking of making a small poem about each of the princes of the House of Este, who is depicted in the courtyard; I should like it, therefore, if you could send me the tree of the House and the History of Pigna which is among my other books. . . ."⁴¹

There can be no doubt, therefore, that the ruler portraits by Girolamo da Carpi at Copparo, and the genealogical portraits painted on the Castle by the Faccini after Ligorio's design were meant to be pictorial propaganda in this controversy regarding precedence. The dates of the two series of paintings tie in closely with the most critical phases of the argument, its beginning in 1541 and the five years, 1570 to 1575, when the quarrel came to a climax at the Imperial court.⁴² The elegant palace at Copparo, which was often used for hunting parties of notable guests, and the imposing Castle at Ferrara, which was the ancient stronghold of the family, were natural locations for billboards proclaiming to all visitors the Este claim to precedence on the basis of the antiquity of the family and its long unbroken dominion.

The inclusion in the drawings by Ligorio, following the history of Pigna, of the numerous German relatives of the Estes, especially in the regions of Brunswick and Lüneburg, is inspired naturally by the circumstance that in the 1570's the argument about precedence was to be arbitrated at the Imperial court where it was hoped that the family relationships of the Estes with the German nobility would influence the decision. This orientation toward Germany is also indicated by the fact that Latin and German translations of Pigna's history were published but not French or Spanish. Copies of the book were sent not only to Rome but also to the Emperor, his ministers,

37. G. B. Pigna, *op.cit.*, p. 91. As late as 1584 this genealogical tree was apparently in the Este museum, see the inventory of the "guardaroba del Duca Alfonso II" of that year published in *Documenti inediti*, III, Florence and Rome, 1880, p. 13.

38. V. Santi, *op.cit.*, p. 116.

39. T. Tasso, *Appendice alle opere in prosa di Torquato Tasso*, ed. by A. Solerti, Florence, 1892, pp. 107-157. A letter of Tasso in 1579 to Duke Alfonso II also mentions some of the reasons favoring the Ferrarese claims to precedence (T. Tasso, *Le Lettere di Torquato Tasso*, ed. by C. Guasti, II, Florence, 1854, pp. 62-67, no. 125).

40. T. Tasso, *Le Rime di Torquato Tasso*, ed. by A. Solerti, III, Bologna, 1900, pp. 86 and 87, nos. 66 and 67.

It has not previously been noted by art historians regarding Pirro Ligorio, the designer of the Castle paintings, that he must have been a friend of Tasso as well as merely a contemporary courtier in the large entourage of the Duke. This is indicated by three sonnets written by Tasso in honor of Ligorio, two of them in remembrance of his death in October 1583 (*ibid.*, pp. 471-473, nos. 422-424). There is also a sonnet by Tasso to Cesare Ligorio, the very young son of Ligorio (*ibid.*, p. 474, no. 425); Solerti (*idem*) suggests that Cesare may be a grandson of Pirro Ligorio, but G. Baruffaldi

(*op.cit.*, II, p. 393 n. 1) has published the baptismal record dated April 2, 1579, of a son of Pirro Ligorio named Cesare Gabriele, who was born during Pirro's old age.

Tasso also refers to Ligorio in his letter of 1580 written to the Neapolitans pleading for their help in his troubles at Ferrara (T. Tasso, *Le Lettere di Torquato Tasso*, ed. by C. Guasti, II, p. 78). In this case Tasso's reference was natural as Ligorio was a famous son of Naples.

A. Solerti in his life of Tasso (*Vita di Torquato Tasso*, Turin, 1895, I, pp. 179-180; and II, pt. 2, p. 102, doc. LVII) publishes documents showing that Ligorio went along with Tasso, the doctor Brasavola, and the historian Sardi in the small advance party which left late in 1572 for Rome where they were joined later by the Duke. According to Solerti this Ducal trip to honor the new Pope, Gregory XIII, was concerned with the future succession to the Ferrarese Duchy, since Alfonso II had no sons, but V. Santi (*op.cit.*, p. 81 n. 1) is more probably correct when he claims that the visit was concerned with the controversy regarding precedence.

41. T. Tasso, *Le Lettere di Torquato Tasso*, ed. by C. Guasti, II, p. 168.

42. G. Baruffaldi (*op.cit.*, I, p. 413) claims that it was the idea of Ercole II to have the court of the Castle decorated with such portraits but that his death prevented it.

and the Electors and nobles of Germany to inform the Germans of "the relationship of blood between the most illustrious families of Germany and that" of the Estes.⁴³

The argument between the Medici and the Estes, although it ended in a rejection of the Ferrarese claims, influenced greatly, as Santi explains, the history of Europe during the late sixteenth century, the writing of history, and the study of genealogy. Actually the defeat of the Estes was simply one of several severe blows to them during the late sixteenth century. In 1570 Ferrara suffered an extreme catastrophe when an earthquake destroyed or damaged a large part of the city. Meanwhile the branch of the Po River which flowed past the city and which furnished the principal means of transportation for commerce was becoming more and more sluggish each year until eventually navigation on the Po past Ferrara became almost nonexistent, and the entire economic life of the city was endangered. The final disaster came in 1597 when Duke Alfonso II died without direct heirs. The Duchy of Ferrara, which was a Papal fief, was seized by Pope Clement VIII, and Alfonso's successor, his cousin Cesare d'Este, had to retire to the Imperial fiefs of Modena and Reggio.

Duke Alfonso II had attempted to revive the fame of the court at Ferrara as a notable center for the arts, as it had been in the late fifteenth century and early sixteenth century when Ariosto, Boiardo, and Bembo dominated literature, and painting had flourished with Cosimo Tura, Costa, Dosso Dossi, Giovanni Bellini, and Titian. The revival under Alfonso II was primarily a literary one, represented by Tasso, G. B. Guarini, and Pigna, which was strengthened by intensive collecting of ancient manuscripts. But there was also important antiquarian activity under Enea Vico and Ligorio; outstanding music, especially the renowned Concerte delle Dame; and some notable architecture by Alberto Schiatti, Alessandro Balbi, and G. B. Aleotti. Much of the architecture was a necessary result of the damage caused by the earthquake of 1570 and later shocks, since Ferrara experienced earthquakes almost annually for at least the next six years. Most of this artistic and humanistic activity at Ferrara, except the architecture, ceased when the Papacy occupied the city.

In addition to the painted decoration by the Faccini of the courtyard of the Este Castle, there was also executed during the reign of Alfonso II some interior decoration at the Castle. There are still preserved three rooms with sixteenth century decoration, the Sala dell'Aurora, the Sala del Consiglio (or Sala dei Giuochi), and between them the Saletta dei Giuochi. The attribution of this decoration has varied considerably owing to a lack of documentation. In the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries the local historians were inclined to attribute the Sala dell'Aurora to the leading Ferrarese painter of the first half of the sixteenth century, Dosso Dossi, and the other two rooms, with some hesitancy to Dosso or to his pupils.⁴⁴ The more recent monographs on Dosso Dossi have omitted all this decoration.⁴⁵ Adolfo Venturi introduced two other artists as the painters of the Sala dell'Aurora on the basis of a document of 1548 which notes that Girolamo da Carpi and one Camillo, probably Camillo Filippi, painted "the ceiling and frieze of the room of the Signor, our Very Illustrious [Duke], where he sleeps in the Castle."⁴⁶

43. V. Santi, *op.cit.*, p. 72. The German translation was only published at Mainz in 1580, but a manuscript translation had been sent to Germany in the autumn of 1570 (*ibid.*, p. 86-87).

44. [C. Cittadella], *Catalogo storico de' pittori e scultori ferraresi*, I, pp. 141-142; G. Baruffaldi, *op.cit.*, I, p. 261 n. 2 on pp. 262-263; L. N. Cittadella, *Il Castello di Ferrara*, Ferrara, 1875, pp. 41-46; and following the above, G. Gruyer, *op.cit.*, II, p. 283, where he mentions only the Sala dell'Aurora; and E. G. Gardner, *The Painters of the School of Ferrara*, London and New York, 1911, p. 230, where the Sala dell'Aurora is said to be designed by Dosso and executed by pupils.

45. W. C. Zwanziger, *Dosso Dossi*, Leipzig, 1911 and H.

Mendelsohn, *Das Werk der Dossi*, Munich, 1914.

46. A. Venturi in his early publication, *La R. galleria estense in Modena*, Modena, 1882, p. 25, gave only the document without relating it to the Sala dell'Aurora, which was then done by A. Serafini, *Girolamo da Carpi*, pp. 242-253 and A. Venturi, *Storia dell'arte italiana*, IX, pt. 6, Milan, 1933, pp. 655 and 666 n. 1, and apparently followed by F. Antal, "Observations on Girolamo da Carpi," *ART BULLETIN*, XXX, 1948, p. 94 n. 82.

I have some doubts regarding the attribution of this work to Girolamo da Carpi, since there is some evidence, both iconographical and stylistic, to connect the painting of the Sala dell'Aurora with the work of Pirro Ligorio and Sebastianino Filippi. However, the evidence at this time is so slight

Even if Venturi is correct about the date and artists of the Sala dell'Aurora, the decoration of the other two rooms is later and during the reign of Alfonso II. Unnoticed by art historians, Pirro Ligorio in a letter of July 31, 1574, describing the triumphal arches which he designed for the entry into Ferrara of Henry III, King of France, mentions that the King "was lodged in the rooms of the *Specchio* where there are recently painted all the ancient arts accompanied by the exercises of every gymnastic type including those which are the custom of the human race from childhood."⁴⁷ This decoration was probably a consequence of the restoration made necessary in the Castle as a result of damage incurred during the earthquake of 1570. The inscription which accompanied the frescoes completed by the Faccini in 1577 on the walls of the courtyard specifies that the paintings are "in this courtyard of the castle restored by him" (i.e. Alfonso II).⁴⁸ Ligorio in his unpublished treatise on earthquakes, which contains a diary of the earthquake at Ferrara in 1570, relates that the "fine building of the old castle, although built with thickness of walls and solidity of brickwork, shook greatly. It received its greatest damage on the interior of one of the apartments, which suffered some harm from another earthquake nine years ago. Not being taken care of, some of the fabric was so disturbed that the weight during this earthquake has allowed one part of the wall inside to fall and dragged some rooms to the ground. The rest of the damage is light and repairable. . . . The room and lodging of the German guard in the old court fell entirely."⁴⁹

The frescoes in the Sala del Consiglio (Fig. 6) and the nearby Saletta dei Giuochi are extremely archaeological in spirit. The vaults of both rooms are decorated with scenes of ancient gymnastic and athletic exercises such as discus throwing (Fig. 7), chariot racing, wrestling (Fig. 8), armed dances (the *Telesias*, Fig. 9, and *Pyrrichae saltationes*), swimming, various ball games (the *Trigon* and the *Pilae ludus*), and the Dance on Leather Bottles (*Askoliasmos*). This subject matter is undoubtedly a reflection of Duke Alfonso's great love of athletic exercise, especially wrestling and tennis, as well as the tourney and hunting. Solerti repeats several accounts indicating the Ducal predilection for athletics,⁵⁰ and Frizzi in his history of Ferrara claims that in 1592 the Duke "because gymnastics, hunting, fishing, swimming, and riding were no longer expedient at his age, was limited, master of these that he was, to teach the exercise of them to youth, and to be a spectator and judge."⁵¹ Obviously some authority on antiquity must have worked out this program and described the various erudite games to the painter. L. N. Cittadella, when he ascribed

and controversial that I do not feel that it is worth bringing into this discussion.

47. P. de Nolhac and A. Solerti, *Il Viaggio in Italia di Enrico III re di Francia e le feste a Venezia, Ferrara, Mantova e Torino*, Turin, 1890, p. 333.

That the Specchio or Sala del Consiglio (now usually called the Sala dei Giuochi) was used regularly as the bedroom for visiting nobles is perhaps further indicated by a sonnet of Tasso in praise of the Duke de Joyeuse, which in old manuscripts claims that the Duke "fu alloggiato . . . ne le stanze de gli specchi" (T. Tasso, *Le Rime di Torquato Tasso*, III, p. 441, no. 394).

48. See above note 22.

49. Turin, Archivio di Stato, MS J.a.II.15, vol. xxviii, f. 75r. The entire passage regarding the Castle under the date Friday, November 17, 1570, reads as follows:

"Bolleuano l'acque del po fiume, bolleuano quelle del castello Tialdo, et quel del castello uecchio, et strepitauano, et esso bello edificio del castello uecchio quantunque sia fabrica per grossezza di muri et per saldezza dell'opera lateritia tremò grandemente, riceue grandissimo danno dalla parte di dentro di uno degli appartamenti, la quale parte per l'altro terremoto già nove anni sono fece alcuni resentimenti, ma non sendo curato, anzi fu perturbato da qualche fabrica che lo incarco in questo Terremoto ha lasciato da una parte il muro didentro cadere, et tirato atterra alcune stanze: nel resto delli

danni riceuuti, sono facili et rimediabili; perche il moto lha scosso per tre lati, et da quello appartamento che cadde solo duoi ragazzi ui morirono mentre stauano a fare colatione, non hauendo seguitati gli altri ch'erano saltati fuori et questi erano duoi seruitori del conte Scipione Sacrato. Sendo partiti lo principe et la principessa con tutta la corte gia, questo luogo pati come patirono tutte le parti della Magnificentissima casa d'Este; tutti gli appartamenti sacrasso. Cadde affatto la stanza et alloggiamento della guardia de Thedesci nella corte vecchia."

In this diary Ligorio reports quite extensively on the damage incurred by buildings in Ferrara, and I hope soon to use this as a starting point for a study of late Cinquecento architecture in Ferrara.

A. Solerti (*Ferrara e la corte estense nella seconda metà del secolo decimosesto*, Città di Castello, 1891, pp. xciii and xcvi) quotes several letters regarding damage to the Castle. The ambassador from Urbino reports: "Il castello è tutto fracassato, . . ." The Ducal Secretary Pigna claims that ". . . il castello di dentro ha qualche lesione," while the Duke himself relates: ". . . il nostro castello ha patito alquanto in una muraglia che camminava da una torre all' altra, per essere caduta una parte nuova fabricata dal signor Duca nostro padre, sopra un pezzo di marmo che si tiro dietro quella parte di dentro, ma che nel resto non vi è cosa che importi."

50. A. Solerti, *op.cit.*, pp. xxiii and lii-liii.

51. A. Frizzi, *op.cit.*, IV, p. 441.

these paintings to the Dossi brothers and their pupils, suggested that the antiquarian might be one of the Giralaldi or Celio Calcagnini.⁵²

Earlier, however, the editor of Baruffaldi, when he claimed that the Sala del Consiglio and Saletta dei Giuochi were probably by the later artist Sebastiano Filippi, called Bastianino, had correctly put his finger on the archaeologist behind the program, that is, Pirro Ligorio, the antiquarian of Duke Alfonso II.⁵³ The editor noted the close relationship of these frescoes with the second edition published in 1573 of the book by the Paduan doctor Girolamo Mercuriale entitled *De arte gymnastica libri sex*. The first edition of Mercuriale published in 1569 had no illustrations except the plan of a *palestra*. The edition of 1573, on the other hand, is lavishly illustrated with the various types of ancient gymnastic exercises. Even the appearance of these prints (Figs. 10 and 11) with heavy Latin and Greek labels in Roman type and the heavy, rotund nudes with emphasized musculature suggests their source in drawings by Ligorio, as Métral noted also for some of the illustrations to the French archaeologist Vigenère's *Annotations de Tite-Live*.⁵⁴ But the proof that Ligorio is behind most of the illustrations in Mercuriale is not just visual, since the author indicates repeatedly throughout the text that he has received information and even drawings from Ligorio.⁵⁵ Regarding the illustration of a men's bath, Mercuriale notes: "Here, however, we give only one sketch imparted to us by Pirro Ligorio from his very famous writings on ancient subjects."⁵⁶ For the illustration of the jumpers with weights, the author writes: "And so that one can have a more certain knowledge of this form of exercise we have taken care to furnish images of the *halteristarii* which Pirro Ligorio sent to us taken from ancient carved gems."⁵⁷ That the information and drawings were sent to Mercuriale after Ligorio's transfer to Ferrara is indicated not only by the date, since they are not in the 1569 edition, but also by the reference to information found by Ligorio in the collection of antiquities of the Duke of Ferrara.⁵⁸

The editor of Baruffaldi presents further proof, which is now lost, of the connection between Ligorio and Mercuriale, for he claims to have seen in Ferrara a manuscript now unknown but owned then by one Giuseppe Boschini. This manuscript by Ligorio was directed to Mercuriale with a note by Ligorio: "I send to you, sir, the two drawings for your work, the *Gymnastica*, one of the types of gladiatorial exercise of the *Mirmillo* and of the *Secutor*."⁵⁹ It is noted in Baruffaldi that this drawing was not used by Mercuriale but rather one of the Pyrrhic Dance which was to be found also in the lost manuscript of Ligorio and whose subject is among the frescoes of the Sala del Consiglio.

Nine of the different types of exercise illustrated in Mercuriale are to be found in the two rooms of the Castle of Ferrara (Fig. 6). This does not mean that the frescoes are taken from the drawings used as illustration in Mercuriale; only one, the so-called *Petaurum* (rope-dancers, which in this case shows a girl being raised in a swing by two other girls), is closely similar. There is a difference in format because the book illustrations are vertical with the figures crowded together,

52. L. N. Cittadella, *op.cit.*, p. 42.

53. G. Baruffaldi, *op.cit.*, I, p. 464 and n. 1 on pp. 465-466.

54. D. Métral, *Blaise de Vigenère, archéologue et critique d'art (1523-1596)*, Paris, 1939, p. 198. What Métral did not discover was that the two illustrations in Vigenère's book of 1583 showing a men's bath and a funerary repast (*ibid.*, pp. 196-198), which Métral recognized as by Ligorio but for which he could not find a source, are indirectly from Ligorio by way of Mercuriale.

55. G. Mercuriale, *De Arte gymnastica libri sex*, Venice, 1573, ff. 18r, 25r, 44r, 54r, 61r, 63r, 103r, 111r, 119r, 123r, 126r, 154r, and 166r. The first edition of Mercuriale was entitled *Artis gymnasticae apud antiquos celeberrimae, nostris temporibus ignoratae, libri sex*, Venice, 1569. In the preface dedicated to Andreas Frisius of the later edition of Mercuriale published at Amsterdam in 1672 the illustrations are said specifically to be woodcuts made by Cristoforo Coriolano after

Pirro Ligorio.

56. G. Mercuriale, 1573 ed., f. 44r.

57. *ibid.*, f. 126r. Other references which seem to refer to Ligorio drawings are on ff. 111r, 119r, and 154r.

58. *ibid.*, f. 154r. Ligorio undoubtedly became acquainted with Mercuriale first in Rome, since Mercuriale was called there in 1562 by Pope Pius IV and remained there in the entourage of Cardinal Farnese for eight years studying antiquities before he went to Padua as a Professor of Medicine (see the *Enciclopedia italiana*, XXII, Rome, 1934, p. 891, s.v. Mercuriale, Girolamo). It was, of course, precisely during that interval that Ligorio was active in Rome as Papal architect and, as several letters to and from the Cardinal Farnese and his secretary Fulvio Orsini indicate, Ligorio was on intimate terms with members of the Farnese household.

59. G. Baruffaldi, *op.cit.*, I, p. 464 n. 1 on p. 465.

while the frescoes tend to be horizontal with the scenes spaced out. However, there are many similarities in details: for example, most of the paintings and many of the illustrations have architectural backgrounds to denote the *palestra*; in the background of several of the frescoes and illustrations alike, behind the figures, is depicted a vase holding the palms of award on a table or altar (Figs. 8 and 10); and in both the representations of the discus throwing contest (Figs. 7 and 10) are to be found the three *metae* indicating a Roman circus.⁶⁰ The woodcut of the *pancratium* in Mercuriale (Fig. 11), although without any background, has the wrestlers depicted in positions very close to those of the fresco at Ferrara (Fig. 8). These resemblances substantiate the view of the editor of Baruffaldi in suggesting that, as in the frescoes of the courtyard, Ligorio is the author, but not the executant, of these two programs of ancient gymnastics.

There is likewise some slight evidence of this relationship in drawings by Ligorio himself. Among Ligorio's drawings in Turin (Fig. 12) is one page of sketches for pictorial decoration⁶¹ which will also be discussed later, but we should notice now that it contains one strip of decoration showing *putti* disporting themselves among and on the backs of sea-horses and sea-monsters like the bands of decoration used between the gymnastic scenes in the Sala del Consiglio (Figs. 6, 7, and 8). Also among the Turin drawings are depictions of the *askoliasmos* (Fig. 13) and of athletes holding *halteres* (Fig. 14).⁶² There is, however, no pictorial relationship between these latter two drawings and the frescoes of these types of gymnastics at Ferrara, but a base in the background of the *askoliasmos* (Fig. 13) is inscribed with the quotation from Vergil's *Georgics* (11, 384): *Molibus in pratis vinctos salire per vtres*, which Mercuriale also quotes when he discusses the *askoliasmos*.⁶³

Mercuriale furnishes some indication of the ancient sources from which Ligorio acquired a pictorial knowledge of gymnastic exercises. The most frequently cited sources are ancient gems which have young boys wrestling⁶⁴ or indulging in various types of exercises.⁶⁵ These gems are certainly the inspiration for the small panels of decoration in the Saletta dei Giuochi⁶⁶ where *putti* are represented playing tennis, dancing, fishing, and enjoying some of the gymnastic games which occur in the larger frescoes of the two rooms. Details of gymnastic equipment, such as the *caestus* of the boxer, are based upon coins, as, for example, those of Smyrna,⁶⁷ but Mercuriale's claim that scenes of wrestling exist on Syracusan coins "as Ligorio has disclosed to us"⁶⁸ is unfounded, unless Ligorio had in mind the scene of Hercules wrestling with the Nemean Lion.

The Estes had formed a large collection of ancient manuscripts, coins, gems, and other antiquities, which had been greatly increased by the interest of Duke Alfonso II.⁶⁹ As a result of these collections Pirro Ligorio was commissioned to undertake the organization and decoration of another part of the Castle. In 1571, again probably as an aftermath of the earthquake, Ligorio

60. It may be objected that the form of the *metae* differs between the book illustration, which has rather squat, round *metae*, and the fresco with taller, thinner *metae*, but both these types of *metae* are to be found in the engravings after Ligorio of Roman circuses where the Circus Flaminius has *metae* like the book of Mercuriale and the Circus Maximus like those of the fresco (copies of these engravings, for example, can be found in the version of Lafreri's *Speculum Romanae magnificentiae* owned by the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, volume 1, nos. 65 and 68). What is important is that the *metae* occur in the discus throwing scene of both Mercuriale and the fresco to indicate the setting of the circus, while the other exercises have colonnades to represent the *palestra*.

61. Turin, Archivio di Stato, MS J.a.11. 17, vol. xxx, f. 31v.

62. *ibid.*, f. 51r and f. 18r.

63. G. Mercuriale, *op.cit.*, p. 121.

64. A. F. Gori, *Gemmae antiquae ex thesauro Mediceo*, II, Florence, 1732, p. 131, pl. LXXXIII, nos. 2 and 4.

65. L. Agostino, *Gemmae et sculpturae antiquae depictae*, Franequerae, 1694, pt. 2, pp. 40-42, no. 21, illus. pl. 21.

66. See G. Agnelli, *Ferrara e Pomposa (Italia artistica, 2)*, Bergamo, 1904, pp. 72 and 74.

67. L. Anson, *Numismata graeca, Greek Coin-types Classified for Immediate Identification*, pt. 11, London, 1911, p. 33, nos. 346-350.

68. G. Mercuriale, *op.cit.*, p. 103.

69. Especially during the first two years of his reign (from October 3, 1559) Alfonso II had exerted great effort to gather an outstanding collection of Greek manuscripts, including those of Alberto Pio, brother of Ridolfo Cardinal Pio, while the Ferrarese ambassador at Venice bought up all the manuscripts he could obtain from the East (see D. Fava, "Alfonso II d'Este raccogliatore di codici greci," *Rendiconti: Reale istituto lombardo di scienze e lettere*, ser. 2, LI, 1918, pp. 418-500; and D. Fava, *La biblioteca estense nel suo sviluppo storico*, Modena, 1925, pp. 130-162). For Enea Vico's activity in creating the Este collection of medallions see G. Campori, "Enea Vico e l'antico museo estense delle medaglie," *Atti e memorie delle R. R. deputazioni modenese e parmense di storia patria*, VII (1874), pp. 37-45.

was ordered to prepare a library and museum to house the Ducal collections. Several letters dated during this year furnish the evidence for this project. On July 20, 1571, Alessandro de' Grandi, the Ducal archaeological agent at Rome, wrote to the Duke of Ferrara about a commission which he had been given to obtain ancient busts of philosophers.⁷⁰ According to this letter Ligorio must have requested eighteen such statues for the Duke. Of this number De' Grandi had just received three heads from the Duke's uncle, the Cardinal of Ferrara, together with the promise of one more to be sent from Tivoli; eight had already been acquired which were then in the process of restoration and two more were awaiting restoration. De' Grandi was thus left with the necessity of locating four more antique busts. This letter helps to clarify a note from the Ducal representative in Rome, Evangelista Baroni, which accompanied the letter of De' Grandi. The note commences with a list of eight ancient portraits of philosophers and *literati* which are probably the eight busts mentioned by De' Grandi as in the process of restoration and soon to be sent to the Duke. At the end of Baroni's note is added a recommendation signed by Ligorio that these busts should be bought and used to decorate the study or library of the Duke.

The reason for Ligorio's seeking the antique portraits on behalf of the Duke is further explained by a letter of Fulvio Orsini to his master the Cardinal Farnese, dated September 11, 1571, which relates that "the Duke of Ferrara, after the design of Pirro, is putting together his library of manuscripts, made up of books of Manutius, Statius, and of others; and above the pilasters which separate the bookcases he puts the ancient heads of philosophers and literary men."⁷¹ Such a collection of ancient portraits is very like the one Ligorio had earlier assembled to decorate the Belvedere Court of the Vatican in Rome, even going to the effort of forging inscribed names on some portraits in order to have a complete collection of *literati*.⁷² Finally on September 15 a letter of De' Grandi to the Duke states that the fourteen heads of ancient philosophers have been sent to Ferrara about ten days previously.⁷³

In Ligorio's notebooks at Turin there is a sketch plan (Fig. 15) of a section of the Este Castle at Ferrara showing four rooms and a staircase.⁷⁴ One of the smaller rooms is labelled "Per la libreria" and the largest room "Per Antichario," so that this must be a plan of the library and museum arranged by Ligorio. As a result of the many changes which the the Castle at Ferrara has suffered this work no longer survives,⁷⁵ and one cannot be sure that the sketch resembles the finished work or that it is only a project. The drawing shows several corrections so that it is preliminary to the actual work. The largest room, which is the museum, is almost seventy feet long and about twenty-five feet wide.⁷⁶ It is entered from the stairhall by a door toward the end of the long central wall of the apartment. Seven windows light the outer wall while the three inner

70. *Documenti inediti per servire alla storia dei musei d'Italia*, IV (1880), p. 456.

71. A. Ronchini, "Fulvio Orsini e sue lettere ai Farnesi," *Atti e memorie delle R. deputazioni di storia patria per le provincie dell'Emilia*, n.s., IV, pt. 2 (1880), p. 50.

Ligorio is, of course, trying to emulate the ancients in their arrangement of a library, since he remarks in his Neapolitan manuscript: "Soleuano gli antichi d'animo nobile, porre nelle loro Biblioteche le effigie di tutti quegli, che haueuano scritto, ò fatte opere egregie, come li ritratti, di Poeti, di Philosophi, d'Oratori, dei grammatici, capitani et historici, ò d'altre professioni degni di memoria, . . ." (Naples, Biblioteca Nazionale, MS XIII.B.2, p. 395, actually unpaginated: page headed "Di Homero Poeta").

72. A. Michaelis, "Geschichte des Statuenhofes in Vaticanischen Belvedere," *Jahrbuch des kaiserlich deutschen archäologischen Instituts*, V (1890), pp. 5-72; and C. Huelsen, "Die Herminenschriften berühmter Griechen und die ikonographischen Sammlungen des XVI Jahrhunderts," *Mitteilungen des kaiserlich deutschen archäologischen Instituts: Römische Abteilung*, XVI (1901), pp. 123-208.

73. A. Ronchini, *op.cit.*, p. 50 n. 1. The license to export

these fourteen heads, dated August 27, 1571, is published by A. Bertolotti, "Esportazione di oggetti di belle arti da Roma nei secoli, XVI, XVII, XVIII e XIX," *Archivio storico artistico archeologico e letterario della città e provincia di Roma*, I (1875), p. 177.

74. Turin, Archivio di Stato, MS J.a.11.7, vol. XX, f. 90r: 403 x 285 mm (at top) or 277 mm (at bottom); pen and brown ink on white paper.

75. The museum and library designed by Ligorio were located on the southeastern side of the Castle probably on the top floor. The dimensions of Ligorio's plan agree with the dimensions of the southeastern side of the Castle as published in the second floor plan in B. Ebhardt, *Die Burgen Italiens*, I, Berlin, 1909, p. 33, fig. 114. This location is also indicated by the existence of the oval stair in the corner of Ligorio's plan which matches the oval stair in the northern corner of the southeastern side of the castle.

76. Dimensions are 52 *piedi* long (21.216 m, if Ferrarese *piedi*) and 18 *piedi* 7 *oncie* wide (7.582 m). According to the measure in the Este Castle itself one Ferrarese *piede* equals 408 mm.

walls are lined with cupboards (*armarii*). A door in the long inner wall leads into another large room, and another door in the center of the farther end wall goes into the library. Flanking each cupboard, window, or door is a pair of projections indicating pilasters or, as we shall see, herms. The library is the same width as the museum and about thirty-four feet long.⁷⁷ From the museum is a door into another large room which has its entrance also from the stairhall. This large room is about sixty-four by twenty-nine and one half feet⁷⁸ with four large windows. Beyond this room is another small room, about nineteen and one half feet long,⁷⁹ which is also entered from the library and which has an outer door into a corridor or another room.

On another page of the Turin manuscript is a rough sketch of the elevation (Fig. 16) of one of the walls, probably of the museum.⁸⁰ The elevation is in two stories, each story about nine and one half feet high,⁸¹ with a vault above. The lower section has pairs of herms flanking the cupboards, while the upper section has Ionic pilasters flanking a rectangular niche which, from the sketchy indications of the drawing, was intended to hold a statue. In the small interval between the coupled pilasters were to be set two busts above one another and a bust was to be placed in the break of the pediment over the rectangular niche.⁸²

There is some evidence that the two sketches by Ligorio, which are preserved in Turin, for the library and museum of the Castle must date from the first half of 1571, soon after the first severe earthquake shocks beginning November 1570. On the right side of the drawing with details of the elevation of the museum (Fig. 16) are two lists of the names of Greek historians and philosophers. These names very possibly form a list of the Greek writers, whose portraits Ligorio desired to have as decoration for the rooms. This would correspond to the fact that in his letter of July 1571 De' Grandi noted that Ligorio had requested eighteen such portraits to be obtained at Rome and Tivoli. Ligorio's ideal list of writers does not agree at all with the philosophers whose busts De' Grandi obtained and, therefore, suggests that Ligorio's sketches must date sometime before July 1571. There is not preserved any exact information when the decoration of these rooms was completed, but they were certainly finished by the end of 1574. Pighius in his description of the visit of Prince Charles of Cleves to Italy remarks that at Ferrara the Prince admired "the excellent equipment of the new library" and that "Pirro Ligorio, the very ingenious architect, learned antiquarian, and skilled man, had collected for the decoration of the library" many ancient statues, coins, and gems.⁸³ Therefore, the visit of the Prince of Cleves to Ferrara, which took place from November 19 to 24, 1574,⁸⁴ gives us a date *ante quem* for the completion of this work.

Among Ligorio's drawings at Turin are many sketches for the pictorial decoration presumably of various rooms at Ferrara.⁸⁵ Naturally this decoration is not necessarily for rooms in the Castle, since other programs of decoration were being carried out at Ferrara at this time.⁸⁶ Two drawings contain the designs for ceilings. In one (Fig. 17)⁸⁷ a great oval canopy of heaven is stretched out over the room in a classic manner and in the oval center is depicted an allegorical figure. Being a combination of classic elements, this allegory would be difficult to interpret except that Ligorio

77. 25½ *piedi* long (10.404 m).

78. 47 *piedi* 9 *oncie* long (19.482 m) and 22 *piedi* 4 *oncie* wide (9.112 m).

79. 14½ *piedi* long (5.916 m).

80. Turin, Archivio di Stato, MS J.a.II.7, vol. XX, f. 89r.

81. 7 *piedi* high (2.856 m).

82. The inventory of 1584 (*Documenti inediti*, III, pp. 6-22), entitled "Inventario delle statue vase ed altre cose di guardaroba del Duca Alfonso II," has brief indications of the location of objects in the *guardaroba*, but these references are too meager to insure that the *guardaroba* is the same as Ligorio's *antichario*.

83. S. V. Pighius, *Hercules Prodicus*, Antwerp, 1587, pp. 350-351.

84. A. Solerti, *op.cit.*, pp. cviii-cx.

85. MS J.a.III.16 in the collection of Ligorio manuscripts in the Archivio di Stato at Turin states that the last four volumes of the collection of thirty (MSS J.a.II.14-17) were purchased ca. 1696 at Rome. Volume XXVIII (MS J.a.II.15) is Ligorio's treatise on earthquakes which was written while he was at Ferrara, and, therefore, one can assume that these other volumes were produced at Ferrara.

86. For example, there were executed at this time decorative programs at the destroyed pleasure houses of the Belvedere (A. F. Trotti, "Le delizie di Belvedere illustrate," *Atti della deputazione ferrarese di storia patria*, II, 1889, p. 15) and of Copparo (G. Baruffaldi, *op.cit.*, I, pp. 461-462).

87. Turin, Archivio di Stato, MS J.a.II.17, vol. XXX, f. 21v.



1. Ferrara, Este Castle, court



2. C. Doyno. Engraving of *Almerico I and Tedaldo I d'Este*. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale



3. Engraving of *Almerico I and Tedaldo I d'Este* from G. Sardi, *Libro delle historie ferraresi*



4. Pirro Ligorio. *Fulco III and Bonifacio IV d'Este* London, British Museum



5. Pirro Ligorio. *Este Nobles*. Oxford, Ashmolean Museum



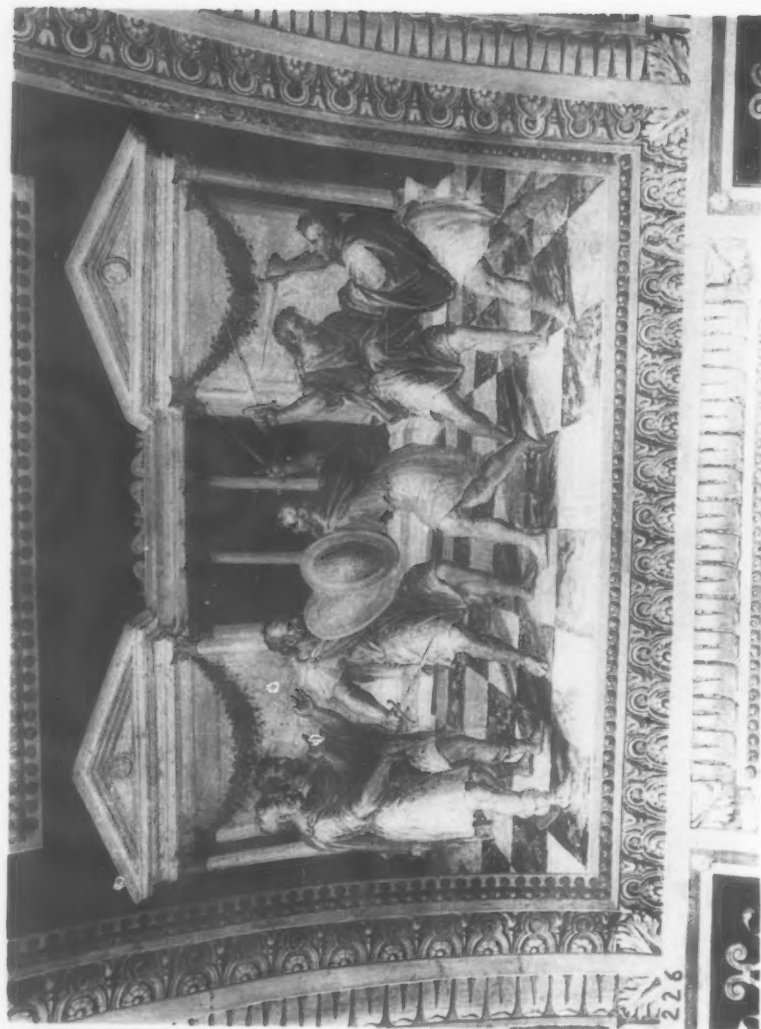
6. Ferrara, Este Castle, Sala del Consiglio



8. Ferrara, Este Castle, Sala del Consiglio, Detail of vault, *Punishment*



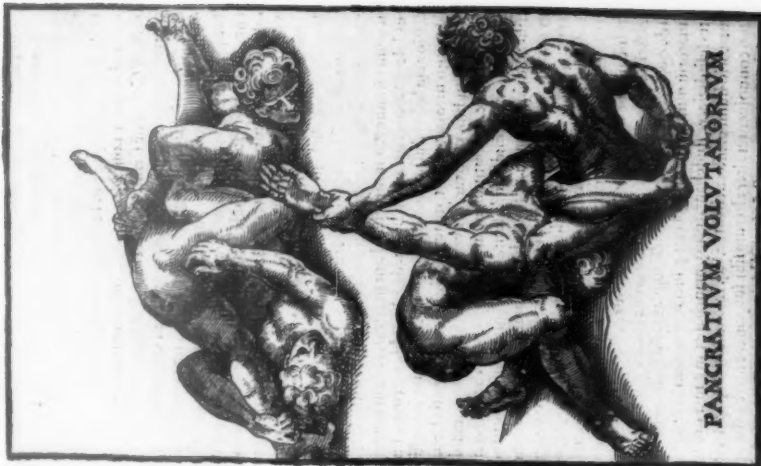
7. Ferrara, Este Castle, Sala del Consiglio, Detail of vault, *Discus Throwing*



9. Ferrara, Este Castle, Sala del Consiglio, Detail of vault, *Telesio*

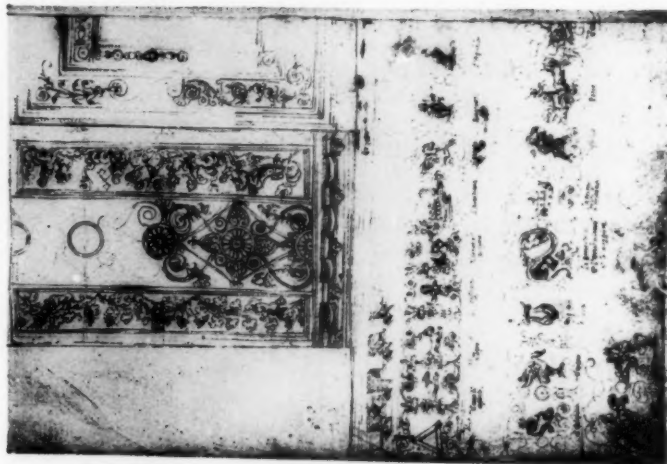


10. Discus Throwing



11. Pancratium

10-11. Woodcuts from G. Mercuriale, *De Arte gymnastica*

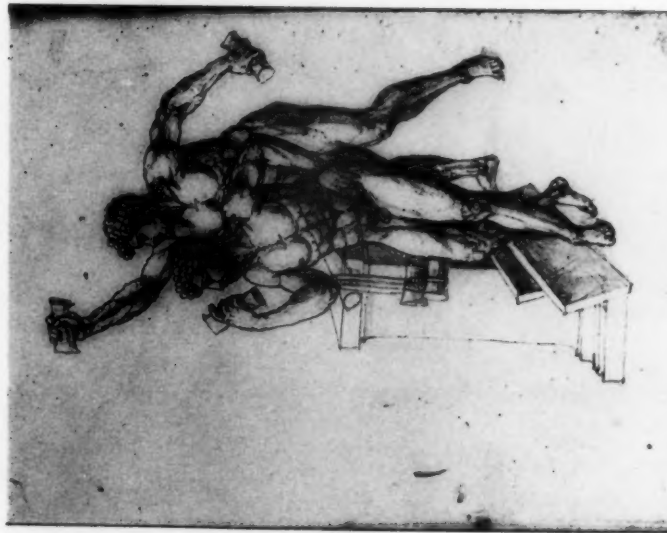


12. Vol. xxx, f. 31v

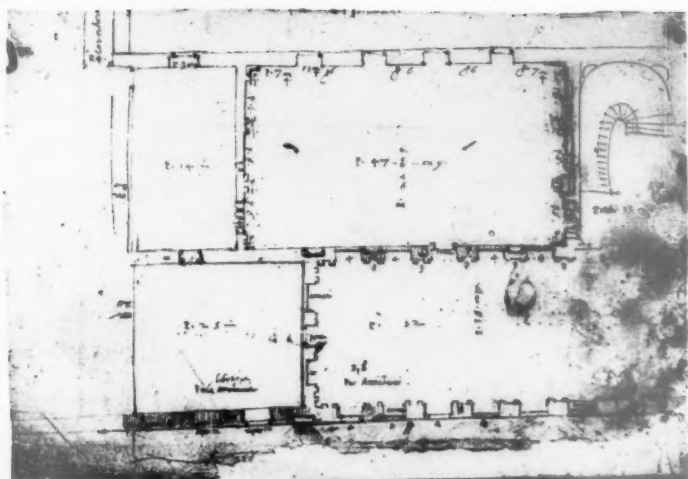


13. Vol. xxx, f. 51r

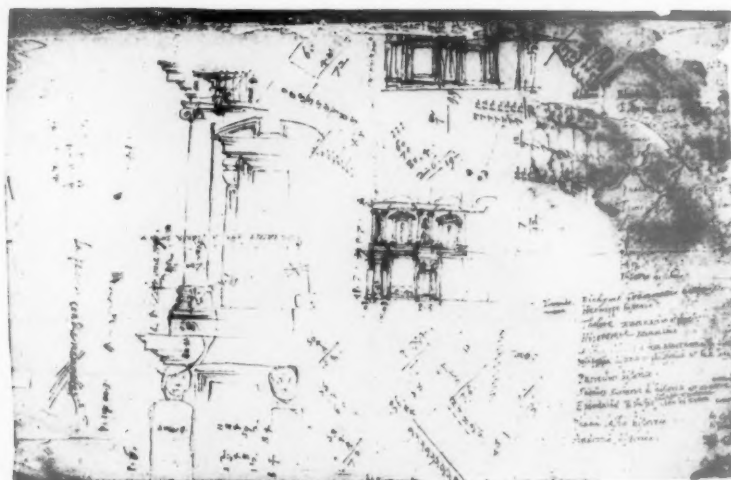
12-14. Turin, Archivio di Stato, Mss. of Pirro Ligorio



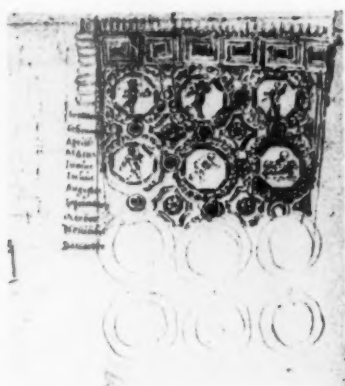
14. Vol. xxx, f. 18r



15. Vol. xx, f. 90r



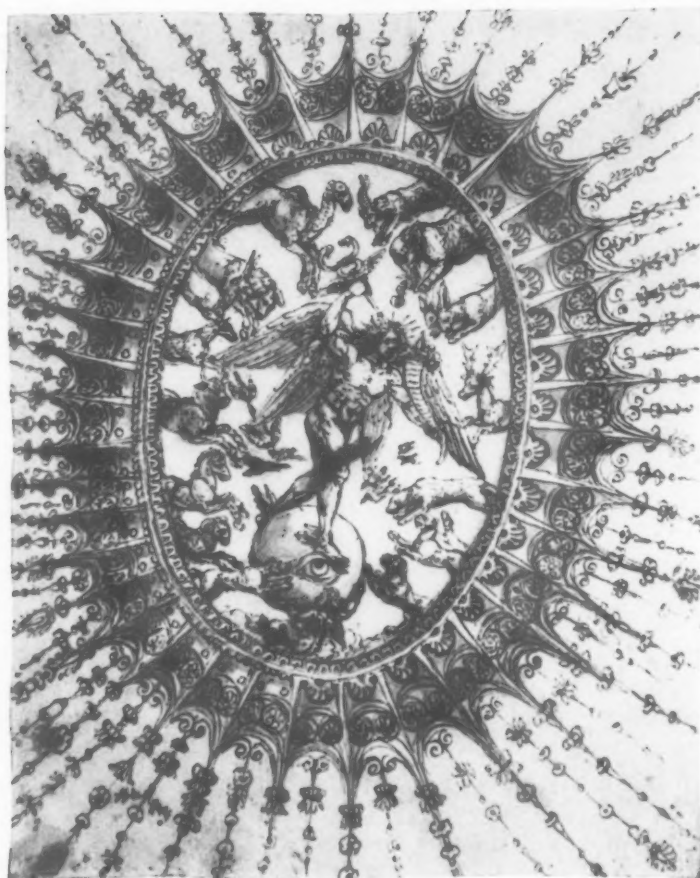
16. Vol. xx, f. 89r



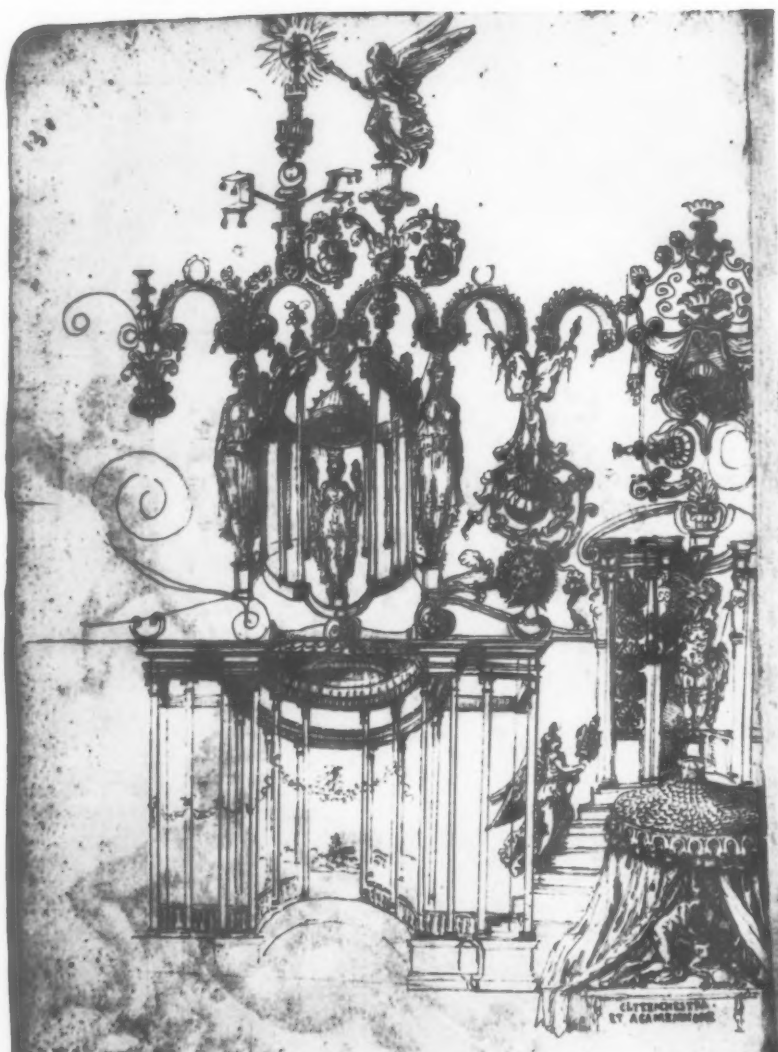
18. Vol. xxx, f. 25v



19. Vol. xxx, f. 11v



17. Vol. xxx, f. 21v



20. Vol. xxx, f. 13v

himself has left us a description of an alleged ancient painting of Time which contains sufficient points of similarity to Ligorio's own drawing to give some aid in interpretation. Ligorio claims that he had seen in the Capuan countryside an ancient room in which:

... time [was] painted, who had four wings on his shoulders and four on his feet. Two of those on his shoulders were closed for the time which sleeps, and the two others were open as if flying, for the time which truly never ceases its flight nor pauses. In one hand he held a wheel with numbers signifying the long centuries and was surrounded by a snake, which is the year. [He had] an eye upon his breast above the heart and a girdle of the signs of the zodiac... he was shown dropping his excrement behind him from his buttocks, and it fell upon a large human eye. From this [excrement] every wild beast, quadruped or winged, takes plunder or nourishment. By this is portrayed that the things of time with the eye of the sun bring nourishment, which is always being converted in consumption and is dissolved corruptly into the earthly nature. Time flying represents here the new things of the renewal of all things. Being shown as going forward to the future, he flies from east to west, covering and dimming with his mists the things past and putting them into oblivion.⁸⁸

This allegorical figure of Time seems to be in general a conflation of the classic personification of Kairos or Opportunity and the Orphic figure Phanes.⁸⁹ The attribute of four wings at the shoulder, two flying and two at rest, is found in Cartari's description of Saturn as Time.⁹⁰ In Ligorio's drawing the identification of his personification of Time with the Sun, which is merely implied in the written description, is made explicit by the sun rays about the head of the personification. Perhaps by analogy with Felicitas, who is represented on some Roman coins as a female personification with right foot on a globe,⁹¹ Ligorio's Time holds the caduceus, symbolizing Peace, in his right hand, and the cornucopia of Plenty in his left.

In the upper right corner of one of the pages from a manuscript of Ligorio's drawings at Turin (Fig. 18) is the other sketch for a ceiling.⁹² This ceiling, perhaps of carved wood, was to contain twelve octagons, in each of which was to be a single *putto*. If this ceiling was to be wood and not stucco, it would have resembled to some extent those ceilings which were created a short time later for Luigi Cardinal d'Este in the Palazzo dei Diamanti at Ferrara.⁹³ Beside the drawing Ligorio has listed the months of the year, omitting March by error. Therefore, the *putti* in the twelve octagons must be either personifications of the months or, more likely, are representative of the *Labors of the Months*. The representation is very sketchy, but it may be possible to identify the

88. Turin, Archivio di Stato, MS J.a.III.10, vol. VIII, ff. 154v-155r. The complete description by Ligorio is as follows: "Onde di più addurremo, quel che uitali Grottesche era dipinto nel paese capuano in una stanza trouata con la statua di Venere. Nella cui pittura si scorgeua il Tempo dipinto, che hauea quattro ali sugli homeri et quattro nelli piedi, due di quelle delle spalle erano chiuse poste per lo tempo che si dorme, et due altre erano aperte et come uolatili, per lo Tempo che già non mai lascia il suo uolato, ne si ferma, et in mano teniua la rota conli numeri disegnati delli longhi secoli et circondato dal serpente ch'è l'anno. Et uno occhio nel petto sopra della parte del core, et cinto del segno del Zodiaco. Il serpe ci mostra la Loxia, cio è facile et lubrica et aggile sua consuetudine di sempre andare posato sopra una uolubile Rota. Poscio dimostra di lassare dal suo tergo dalle natiche il suo scremento, et lo fa cadere sopra un grande occhio humano, et di quello ogni animale feroce quadrupede, et uolatile facendone rapina sene nodriscono. Donde si ritrahe che le cose del tempo, con l'occhio del sole aduce gli nodrimenti che sempre si uanno conuertendo, nella consuntione et corrottamente si risoluono in la natura terrena et il tempo uolando ci rappresenta cose nuoue della rinouatione di tutte le cose, presento per andare innanzi alle future scorre dall'oriente all'occidente, et ua cuoprendo et abagliando con le sue nebie le cose passate et le mette in oblio. Erano in questa stanza rouinata altre cose, ch'erano state guaste, per la terra di che era stata ripiena, et feccandosi

la humidita, i colori erano smarriti et stinti. Laquale stanza fu ueduta presso all'Amphitheatro detto i Verlasci di Capoa et per cauare delle pietre fu sfondata, et guasta, mentre hanno del detto edificio murate le mura di capoa citta noua."

89. For Kairos, Phanes, and Chronos, see especially E. Curtius, "Die Darstellungen des Kairos," *Archäologische Zeitung*, xxxiii (1876), pp. 1-8, R. Eisler, *Weltenmantel und Himmelszeit*, Munich, 1910, II, pp. 382-417, and E. Panofsky, *Studies in Iconology*, New York, 1939, pp. 71-73.

Ligorio in a manuscript at Rome (Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Barb. Lat. 5083) uses the more traditional form of Kairos in association with the zodiac and a head of Serapis presumably to denote Time in his forgery of a supposed ancient coin (see A. Greifenhagen, "Zum Saturnglauben der Renaissance," *Die Antike*, XI, 1935, pp. 83-84).

90. V. Cartari, *Imagini delli dei de gl'antichi*, Venice, 1674, p. 18.

91. H. Mattingly, *Coins of the Roman Empire in the British Museum*, III, London, 1916, p. 375, no. 1036, illus. pl. 69, 16. It is possible, also, that the attribute of the caduceus, which this figure of Time holds, may be due to Macrobius (*Saturnalia*, I, xix, 16) in which Mercury is claimed to be the same divinity as the Sun.

92. Turin, Archivio di Stato, MS J.a.II.17, vol. xxx, f. 25v.

93. G. Baruffaldi, *op.cit.*, I, pp. 101-102 and A. Venturi, *Storia dell'arte italiana*, IX, 7, Milan, 1934, pp. 800, 806-808.

first *putto* of January as carrying a shovelful of warm coals, while the *putto* for May is in a position suggesting the act of mowing.

On the bottom of a page which has been discussed previously (Fig. 12) is a drawing of a frieze, composed of symbols of the constellations, which was meant to be painted on the walls of a room just beneath the ceiling, as shown by the indication of the modillion blocks of the ceiling. It is even possible that this frieze was intended to accompany one of the two ceiling projects which have just been discussed, since the subjects of both the ceilings are devoted to the representation of Time. There are preserved in the drawing symbols of nineteen of the constellations but, it should be noted, none of them is a zodiacal symbol.

Among these drawings by Ligorio at Turin are numerous sketches for panels, details, or large expanses of decoration in the so-called grotesque manner.⁹⁴ One drawing contains two long vertical panels of decoration. The decoration of the wider panel (Fig. 19) is centered about a standing figure of Helios, the Sun, who is flanked by tripods on which are posed probably the horses of the Sun. On the attenuated architecture are placed busts of the Sun and Moon and two Phrygian hatted torchbearers. These secondary figures are undoubtedly derived from some Mithraic relief in which they are accustomed to be represented flanking Mithras killing the Bull, except that on Mithraic reliefs the torchbearers are shown each holding only a single torch, one elevated, the other lowered, while in Ligorio's drawing each figure holds two torches in alternating positions.⁹⁵ The decoration then climbs upward with a bust of the Moon flanked by two cupids. The right side of the drawing is more finished than the left so that one can notice above the right-hand cupid a row of elements from the sea, a shell, Neptune's trident, and a crab. Perched above the central bust of the Moon is a single winged female figure, perhaps Psyche, at whom a cupid is shooting. Towards the top the decoration consists of vines, flowers, palmettes, birds, and the like.

Another drawing (Fig. 20) has a loggia in the attenuated style condemned by Vitruvius with a hint of distant landscape. In the center above the loggia is a crowned figure of Isis holding two *sistra*. At the top a Victory lights a beacon with her torch. At the right of the drawing the murder of Agamemnon by Clytemnestra takes place within a tent as if it were Judith and Holofernes but is labeled by Ligorio as the Greek tragedy. The peak of the tent serves as the base for a statue of Mars set within a niche. Up the stairs leading from the loggia to this statue climbs a Victory holding a trophy of armor.

The representational details of these drawings have been mentioned because the grotesque style of decoration was not merely decoration to Ligorio.⁹⁶ In his manuscript encyclopedia on antiquity, now preserved at Turin, Ligorio devotes an extended passage to a discussion of grotesque painting in which he claims that this style of decoration contained a rich system of meaning.

So that in whatever way such paintings are discovered as we have observed, although to the common people they may offer fantastic subjects, all were symbols and appropriate subjects, not made without secrets, although moderns imitating such antiquities create them without significance and without meaning. There are fantastic forms as of dreams, but there are mingled both the moral and fabulous actions of the gods. There are subjects which in part imitate the elements of nature, in foliage, in animals . . . hence one must believe that they were represented in order to infer human passions from their nature. All [were] placed amid lovely festoons and bonds of a delicate and varied nature so as to present in this form moral aims, positive actions, the false, the true, the uncertainty and the foreseeable, the phantasies of future things. . . .⁹⁷

94. Turin, Archivio di Stato, MS J.a.II.17, vol. xxx, ff. 11v, 13v, 14v, 17v, 23v, 27v, 28v, 31v, and 58r.

95. For Mithraic reliefs see F. Cumont, *Textes et monuments figurés relatifs aux mystères de Mithra*, Brussels, 1896, II, especially p. 194, fig. 19; p. 198, figs. 23 and 24; p. 252, fig. 87; and p. 265, fig. 105.

96. J. Seznec (*The Survival of the Pagan Gods*, New York, 1953, p. 267) in his analysis of the effect of the Council of Trent on mythological painting points out that Cardinal Paleotti's discourse on painting "condemned even *grotteschi*

'in the name of reason' (Book II, chaps. xxvii-xlii). He thus includes in his attack against mythology its most innocent derivatives, and would deprive artists even of motifs of pure decoration." However, Ligorio's statements regarding grotesque decoration, as we shall see, show that this type of painting was not considered mere decoration by at least some of the Italian erudites of the sixteenth century.

97. Turin, Archivio di Stato, MS J.a.III.10, vol. VIII, f. 151v: "Hor dunque inqual unque modo si scorgono pitture tali, secondo hauemo osseruato, se bene al uulgo pareno materie

Ligorio goes on then to give a hint of his source for the idea that all antique decoration should be meaningful in relation to the building or room which it decorates. He points out that Vitruvius (Book I, ii, 5) discussed the appropriateness of the various Orders to the personality of the various gods in whose temples the Orders were to be used.⁹⁸

In two other passages from Ligorio's discourse on the grotesque style he relates:

There have been some moderns, who, not knowing the truth about such painting and its origin, have called them grotesque, fanciful, and whimsical pictures, even monstrous. [This is] because they have not seen that the pictures were found there [i.e. in grottoes] by chance, not for any fantastic aim nor to represent wicked and foolish subjects, but to make the rooms attractive with their variety and to enhance them. Also they are created to bring amazement and marvel, as one might say, to wretched mortals; to signify as much as may be possible the pregnancy and fullness of the intellect and its fancies which the man erudite and learned in sciences has. Also to give satisfaction and to represent misfortunes, to put in order the insatiability of the various unusual concepts drawn from such variety as there is among created things. . . . It is not to be doubted, as some doubt, that everywhere are found painted meaningful subjects. In every building, both illuminated and dark, this type of painting was used in ancient times, both in grottoes and outside them.⁹⁹ The works of pagans were painted with *grotteschi* and those of Christians [such as the catacombs which Ligorio also briefly discusses] were blank or with some Christian painting. Therefore, we must believe that the grotesque pictures of the pagans are not without meaning and are contrived with some fine philosophical skill and depicted poetically, because, as we have been able to see, in these same ancient paintings are subjects of consonance and conformity. They parallel one another like a palinode of answers and harmonies. . . . Wherefore, hieroglyphic letters have been used to signify in small principles various events such as mundane governments, those of the greatest powers, and imperial deeds and commands. . . .¹⁰⁰

The mention of the use of hieroglyphs in grotesque painting, of course, reveals another source for this approach of Ligorio. On the basis of the writings of Horapollon, the Renaissance had become very intrigued with the idea of using hieroglyphs as a means of communication which at the same time would remain obscure to the uninitiated. In 1556 Giovanni Piero Valeriano had published his commentary on hieroglyphs which served as a textbook for these studies. So in his discourse on grotesque painting Ligorio specifies that to signify "pride of feminine beauty [one paints] the crane, for piety, the stork, for purity, the dove, the swan [indicates] the century, as also the raven, the stag, and the elephant."¹⁰¹ All of these symbolic meanings can then be found, exactly or implied, in Valeriano's book.¹⁰²

fantastiche, tutte erano simboli et cose industrie, non fatte senza misteris, se bene, è moderni imitando tali antichità, le fanno senza significato e senza historia. Vi sono forme fantastiche et come de insogni, vi furono mesticati le cose morali et faulose degli Iddij. Vi sono cose che in parte imitano le cose della natura, nelle frondi, nell'animali . . . onde è da credere che fussero rappresentare, per ragionare della natura di quelli, nelle humani affetti, tutte poste in tra uaghi lauori di festoni et di legamenti di cose deboli et uariate: come per mostrare nel' figurato, le cose morali, le cose certe, le false le uere, la incertitudine, et le anteuedute le imaginatione del le cose future."

98. *ibid.*, f. 152r: "Per questa uarietà delli deboli legamenti, solamente Vitruuio le ributta dalla sua seuera legge dell' Architettura, et non per altro, per cio che egli il significato, dell'animali. Voleua che si mettersero nelli Freggi ò Zophori dell'ordini, dei quali ueniuaano, significati per simboli delli iddij à quali erano fatti Tempij: et in ogni uno secondo l'animale che al Dio si dedicaua ò sacrificaua, di quella sorte se ornaua l'edificio: per cio che il Tempio di Ioue, era ornato di Fulmini, di tauri bianchi et di Aquile; . . ."

99. *ibid.*, f. 152v: "Sono stati alcuni moderni, chi non sapendo la uerita di tale pittura et la sua origine, lhà chiamate Grottesche et insogni et strauaganti pitture anzi mostruose. Imperoche essi non si sono ha ueduti che ui sono state ritrouate accaso, ne à fantastico fine, ne per mostrare cose uitiose et pazze, per accomodare con la loro uarietà et inuaghire gli alloggiamenti. Anzi loro sono fatte per recare stupore, et marauiglia per dire così ai miseri mortali, per significare quanto sia possibile, la graidanza, et pienezza dell'intelletto,

et le sue imaginationi, che fu lhuomo erudito et dotto nelle scienze, et per sadisfare, et per mostrare l'accidenti, per accomodare la insatiabilita, delli uarij et strani concetti cauati da tante uarietà che sono nelle cose create. . . . Non è da dubbitare, di quel che alcuni dubbitano, che in ogni loco non ui si trouino dipinte cose significative, et in ogni edificio, et luminoso et oscuro, è anticamente, usata essa pittura, et nelle Grotte et fuori di esse."

100. *ibid.*, f. 153v: "Et sendo opere de gentili erano dipinte di Grottesche, et quelli di christiani erano bianche, ò con qualche christiana pittura. La onde hauemo da credere, chele pitture grottesche de gentili non siano senza significatione, et ritrouate da qualche bello ingegno, philosophico, et poeticamente rappresentate imperoche secondo, hauemo potuto uedere nelle istesse antiche pitture, sono di soggetto di consonantia, et conformemente; sono parallele à guisa d'una palinodia per replicate et corrispondenti . . . onde ad uso di lettere Hieroglyphiche fatte, come per significare incio uarij auuenimenti negli piccioli principij, che hanno le cose delli gouerni terreni quelle delle grandissime potentie, et nelli fatti et nelli comandamenti imperatorij. . . ."

101. *ibid.*, f. 155v: ". . . per la superbia della bellezza donnile la Grua, per la pieta la cycogna, per la colomba la purita, il cygno per lo secolo, come il coruo, il ceruo et l'Elephante; . . ."

102. G. P. Valeriano Bolzani, *Hieroglyphica sive de sacris aegyptiorum literis commentarii*, Basel, 1556. I presume that the idea of the crane symbolizing women's pride in beauty is to be inferred from the section headed *Perseuerentissimi Mores* (f. 129r) in which a handsome man who does not wish with

In this discussion of grotesque painting Ligorio goes through almost the entire range of ancient mythology and subject matter, often attempting to reveal the moral or philosophical meaning which he believed was expressed by the different stories or subjects. For example, one subject, which had been used earlier to decorate the vestibule to the Casino of Pius IV designed by Ligorio himself in the Vatican,¹⁰³ is that of "the chariots of cupids drawn by animals: by lions, by tigers, by elephants, by dragons, by camels, by ostriches, by bears, by hedgehogs, by tortoises, and by every type of bird. All show that a cupid is conqueror of each, and, as each animal runs to his delegated goal and all live under the yoke of love, they are extended. At the end they are led under the palm and victory of Cupid, who carries away the crown of all."¹⁰⁴

Another quotation, which may help to explain the torchbearers in the drawing by Ligorio (Fig. 19), which was previously discussed, specifies that "burning torches signify the light of understanding and the soul, the heat, the fires, and the torch doused and extinguished to earth demonstrates the coldness of the deceased and the dead body."¹⁰⁵

Ligorio praises or mentions the painting of Raphael and his followers, Giovanni da Udine and Giulio Romano, several times. He notes that he has seen "cupids, who have despoiled the gods of their arms and carried them through the air, painted in a room on the Esquiline, which was destroyed by villainous painters. From this Raphael took the same idea in the marriage of Hebe with Hercules painted in the loggia of Agostino Chigi in the Trastevere [i.e. the Villa Farnesina] opposite Rome and made of it a noble painting."¹⁰⁶ In fact, in all the writings of Ligorio there are only a few references to sixteenth century painters, and the only favorable references are in general to Raphael and his school. This is understandable when one realizes that Ligorio's own painting is derived from Raphael, perhaps by way of Baldassare Peruzzi.¹⁰⁷

Some of Ligorio's drawings show a great resemblance to the style of Raphael's pupil and assistant Giulio Romano. This is indicated by the fact that some of Ligorio's drawings have been,

age to change his fashions is symbolized by crane's feathers, since they are supposedly the only type of bird's feathers which preserve their color with age.

103. W. Friedländer, *Das Kasino Pius des Vierten*, pls. XI and XII. This same subject is used in the frieze of the Sala dell'Aurora in the Este Castle at Ferrara.

104. Turin, Archivio di Stato, MS J.a.III.10, vol. VIII, f. 156r: "Li carri dell'amori tirati dalli animali dalli Leoni, dalli tigri, dalli Elephanti, dalli Draconi, dalli cambeli, dalli struzzi, dall'oursi, dalli spinosi, delle Testugini, et da ogni Augello. Che tutti fanno il figurato che d'ogni uno Amore è uincitore et come ogni animale corre alla sua deputata meta, et tutte sotto il giogo amoroso uiuono, si propagano, et alfine si conducono sotto la palma et uittoria d'Amore, che di tutti ne porta la corona."

105. *ibid.*, f. 155v: "Le Facelle ardenti ci significano il lume dell'animo et l'Anima, il calore, li incendij, et la facella premuta et stinta in terra mostra la freddezza del cadauere stinta et il corpo morto."

106. *ibid.*, f. 155r: "In altre simili pitture hauemo uiste l'opere di Volcano, l'Amori che hauemo spogliate l'arme a gli Dei, et le portauano per l'aria, ch'erano dipinte in una stanza nelle Esquilie, la quale da scelerati pittori furono guastati. Onde Raphael prese la istessa inuentione, nelle nozze di Hebe con Hercule dipinti nella loggia di Augustin Ghisi in Transtibore incontra à Roma; et ne fece una nobile pittura."

Raphael is also mentioned again in *ibid.*, f. 152r: "Per tale cagione, simile grottesche erano uenute, ad una somma eccellenza, et da esse l'Eccellente Raphael d'Urbino et Ioan' da Vdina, pittori degni d'immortale nome, imitando l'antichità con molta arte ornarono la loggia del sacro palazzo Apostolico, et con tal sorte di pittura molto uagamente et con stucchi legarono le Historie del Vecchio et nuouo Testamento, i quali ornamenti recano molta uaghezza, doue i pesci, l'Augelli, le uerdure et le figurette, pareno cose uiue con uitale spirito. La onde gli antichi per simili modi, che hà fatto Raphael, e a loro imitatione, così haueano ligati di figure grottesche. Le cose

delli Heroi et delle Muse, di colori uaghi, di belli ornamenti: perciò dunque se alcuni pareno cose false et uane, dalli dotti furono sempre stimate come figure di cose morali, et di cose imitate dalla natura."

The paintings by Giulio Romano *alla grottesca* at Mantua are noted in *ibid.*, f. 152v: "Neanco è da dubitare che le Grotte non fossero luminose come alla cui similitudine dell' antichi fece in Mantua Iulio Romano pittore, nella grotte delli Giganti Fulminati, et ingrottesca dipinse la loggia in questo luogo chiamato Ilte, et la loggia in Marmiruolo fuori di Mantua ambidui essi luoghi. . . ."

107. Ligorio's artistic training can only be surmised upon the basis of his drawings and one fresco, the *Dance of Salome* in the Oratorio of S. Giovanni Decollato at Rome. Architecturally, Ligorio came out of a similar milieu in terms of the school of Bramante and, in particular, Baldassare Peruzzi, whose work influences Ligorio's architecture, and whose son, Sallustio, was frequently a colleague of Ligorio.

Ligorio's writings, as has been noted, support this artistic connection with the school of Raphael. So in his Oxford manuscript (Bodleian Library, MS Canonici Ital. 138, f. 27r) when discussing the cornice of the Temple of Hercules at Rome he adds: "Certamente io no' la hò uista ma l'hebbi dalli disegni di Baldassarre eccellentissimo Architetto, le lode del quale si seruarranno nel XXV libro. doue diffusamente tratteremo dele regole dela pittura, et d'alcune dell'Architettura, parlando degli antichi, et moderni Maestri." Later in same manuscript (f. 131r) he mentions the Villa Farnesina where there are ". . . delle pitture che ancho ui sono di man di Raffaello, et d'altri suoi creati, et di man di Baldassarro Architetto, le riserbo nel XXXVII libro doue gli artificij si dichiarano antichi et moderni."

The archaeological tendency in sixteenth century painting from Peruzzi to Ligorio has been discussed, although only briefly, by F. Antal, "Observations on Girolamo da Carpi," *ART BULLETIN*, XXX, 1948, especially pp. 85-86 and pp. 94-99, where Antal considers Girolamo da Carpi "as a link

and still are, attributed to Giulio Romano, for example, the drawing of *Leda and Her Children* in the Gabinetto dei Disegni of the Uffizi Gallery at Florence.¹⁰⁸ This is true also of the *Rape of Proserpina* (?) which was attributed to Giulio Romano when it was in the Fenwick Collection¹⁰⁹ but which now in the British Museum, London (no. 1946-7-13-359), is correctly given to Ligorio. However, that there should be any influence directly on Ligorio from Giulio Romano seems impossible since Giulio left Rome for Mantua in 1524, when Ligorio was only about ten years old and had not yet come to Rome from Naples.

Ligorio's insistence that grotesque decoration should be infused with meaning and symbolism raises the question as to whether this is merely his own individual opinion or, if this was a prevalent attitude during the sixteenth century, as to when such an idea arose. The idea that the subject matter of ancient art and its Renaissance revival should convey philosophical and moral principles seems very natural for the art of the last half of the sixteenth century as Seznec has presented it in his excellent work *The Survival of the Pagan Gods*.¹¹⁰ For example, Lomazzo in his chapter on grotesque painting in his *Trattato*, published the year after Ligorio's death, reveals a similar attitude toward this painting. Lomazzo claims: "In these *grottesche* the painter expresses subjects and concepts, not with their own forms, but with others: so that if one wishes to represent a person of good reputation (*fama*), he will make the *fama* in the grotesque painting gay and bright; but for another person of ill repute he will make the *fama* dark and black; . . ."¹¹¹ What is in doubt is whether such an attitude occurred earlier in the century. The grotesque decoration executed in the famous loggia of the Vatican Palace by Giovanni da Udine under the direction of Raphael perhaps should be investigated in this light at some time.

The various programs of decoration at Ferrara organized by Ligorio reveal another instance of the extreme pedantry prevalent in so many of the Italian decorative programs of the last half of the sixteenth century.¹¹² On the basis of his one certain painting and many drawings Pirro Ligorio does not appear as an outstanding artist; that is, of course, not true of his architecture or work at the Villa d'Este. But it must be remembered that Ligorio, at least during his last fifteen years at Ferrara, considered himself first an archaeologist or antiquarian and was so employed by the Duke of Ferrara. However, being trained as an artist, Ligorio was able to wed in himself the two needs of his age: artistic expression and erudition. In fact, his career, in so far as the evidence is available now, seems to present him as shifting from the role of a painter in his early life, to that of the scholar in his later career, but this is undoubtedly too much of a simplification of what must have been an intermingling of these talents in his personality.¹¹³

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between Peruzzi and Ligorio in this chain of erudite, archaeologizing mannerism" (p. 99).

108. P. N. Ferri, *Catalogo riassuntivo della raccolta di disegni antichi e moderni posseduta dalla R. Galleria degli Uffizi di Firenze*, Rome, 1890, p. 189, no. 577 and illustrated in *I disegni della R. Galleria degli Uffizi*, ser. 5, fasc. 1, no. 1. Morelli, however, considered the drawing a copy after Giulio Romano; see E. Habich, "Handzeichnungen italienischen Meister," *Kunstchronik*, n.s., IV, 1893, p. 159.

109. A. E. Popham, *Catalogue of Drawings . . . of . . . T. Fitzroy Phillipps Fenwick of . . . Cheltenham*, n.p., 1935, p. 60, no. 7.

110. J. Seznec, *The Survival of the Pagan Gods*, New York, 1953, first published as *La survivance des dieux antiques* (Warburg Institute Studies, vol. 11), London, 1940.

111. G. P. Lomazzo, *Trattato dell'arte della pittura, scoltura, et architettura*, Milan, 1584, p. 422. Lomazzo also speaks about the use of hieroglyphs (p. 423) in such painting. This same attitude toward *grottesche* is again shown by Lomazzo in his book of poetry (*Rime di Gio. Paolo Lomazzi*, Milan, 1587) which carries the subtitle: *Nelle quali ad imitatione de i Grotteschi usati da pittori, ha cantato le lode di Dio, & de le*

cose sacre, di Prencipi, di Signcri, & huomini letterati, di pittori, scoltori, & architetti.

112. This atmosphere of erudition and pedantry is revealed, of course, in the book of Seznec to which I have previously referred (see note 110), but it is also brilliantly outlined in the study by F. Baumgart ("La Caprarola di Ameto Orti," *Studi romani*, XXV, 1935, pp. 77-179) of the very intricate iconographical program at Caprarola.

113. One of the rare autobiographical notes in Ligorio's manuscripts at Turin seems to deny, in fact, this development from painter to archaeologist, for he asserts that he turned to mathematics and drawing ". . . non per farne nell'arte della pittura profetteuole, ma per possere esprimere le cose antiche, o' d'edificij in prospettiva, et in profilo" (Turin, Archivio di Stato, Ms. J.a.III.3, vol. 1, f. 6r). However, at the present we know nothing about Ligorio's life and artistic training before the record on May 15, 1542, of his contract to decorate the loggia of the palace of the Archbishop of Benevento at Rome, when the artist was presumably about twenty-eight years old (for the contract see R. Lanciani, in *Ausonia*, 1, 1906, pp. 101-102).



NATURE AND THE ART NOUVEAU

JAMES GRADY

THE Art Nouveau is usually approached warily by historians. It is given a place in most recent surveys of architecture, but it is treated as an ornamental style and its influence deprecated. The fact that it was the most widespread expression of the period 1890-1910, which were two of the most experimental and decisive decades in the background of contemporary architecture, must somehow be explained. The style was accepted by dilettantes and by serious designers. The publicity it received was enormous. It formed the basis for much pseudo-philosophizing, and never until perhaps the Bauhaus has an art movement been so thoroughly explained and interpreted by its disciples and so strongly attacked by its critics. Today we are removed from the Art Nouveau by half a century and are perhaps able to judge whether it was a worthless, frivolous interlude or a valid expression which contributed a new viewpoint to the aesthetics of its period and left examples of value to contemporary developments.

The most complete appraisal of the Art Nouveau was conducted in *The Craftsman*, beginning in the June 1902 issue with Irene Sargent's "The Wavy Line."¹ This treated the subject as a merely decorative expression. This view has been taken consistently by most critics and accounts for much of the essentially superficial connotations of the movement. Professor A. F. D. Hamlin followed the Sargent article with "L'Art Nouveau, Its Origin and Development."² His article is more perceptive than "The Wavy Line," and his charge that it was a negative movement, a movement away from the fixed point of the historic styles, was answered by Jean Schopfer.³ Schopfer denies that the Art Nouveau was a negative movement and states six positive principles: (1) every copy is a negation of art; (2) the invention and cooperation of the workmen have been accepted as essentials by all those interested in the Art Nouveau; (3) the Art Nouveau has reverted to Nature, that it might discover new beauty; (4) the Art Nouveau favors beautiful materials; (5) the Art Nouveau includes the entirety of the decorative arts and has revived some branches long since dead; (6) the Art Nouveau is absolutely free.

We now realize that only the third principle is peculiar to the Art Nouveau, and from that reversion to Nature came the masterpieces of the great architects of the period. Touched though they may be by the *fin de siècle* atmosphere, and no artist escapes the time in which he lives, these buildings have an expression that gave architecture an evocative power that is unique. The essential role of Nature in the Art Nouveau was usually realized by the proponents of the movement. Samuel Bing,⁴ for instance, stated that it had been necessary to restore certain essential principles that had been neglected. These necessities were: to subject each object to a strict system of logic relative to its use and material; to emphasize purely organic structure; to show clearly the part played by every detail in the architecture of an object; to avoid excessive ornament. These ideals had been expressed some five years before in the manifesto of Felix Aubel, Henri Nocq, Charles Plumet, Alex Charpentier, and Jean Dampé for an 1897 Arts and Crafts exhibition.⁵ These are logical principles indeed, and might well be lifted from the aesthetic formulae so profusely expressed by present-day designers. They were no more observed then than they are today and M. Bing was uneasily aware of the fact, for he cautions that it is judicious not to confuse the

1. *The Craftsman*, II, June, 1902, pp. 131ff.

2. *ibid.*, III, December, 1902, pp. 129ff.

3. Jean Schopfer, "L'Art Nouveau: An Argument and Defence," *The Craftsman*, IV, July, 1903, pp. 229ff.

4. Samuel Bing, trans. Irene Sargent, "L'Art Nouveau," *The Craftsman*, V, October, 1903, pp. 1ff.

5. A. D. F. Hamlin, "L'Art Nouveau, Its Origin and Development," *op.cit.*, p. 137.

doctrines which gave birth to the Art Nouveau with the applications which have been made of them and advised a return to Divine Nature as the only inspiration.

How the Art Nouveau began has been adequately determined and its first manifestations assigned and recorded. Henry Hope has traced the many and various ancestors of the new art.⁶ The Pre-Raphaelites, the Arts and Crafts, the Rococo, the Gothic, the Orient, all contributed. But the dominating influence was Nature. In fact, the Art Nouveau was the culminating expression of Nature toward which all the Victorian arts had been directed. The nineteenth century architect was the first to return directly to Nature for his inspiration since the Gothic period. Natural forms had been used during the long renaissance, but natural forms as they had been designed in the manners of Greece and Rome. But with the nineteenth century the artist looked to Nature directly, and much of the art history of the period is a record of these interpretations.

Generally, there were two approaches to Nature in the arts. Either the designer tried to imitate growing, natural forms in his various materials, or he attempted to give an evocation or impression of the phenomena. The imitative effects were used by the Pre-Raphaelites, the Nazarenes, and other painting schools of the period which insisted on the closest possible copy of the model. The popular arts of the mid-Victorian manufacturer met this fashion, as the 1851 Exhibition showed. The Morris movement was a reaction against this trend. Morris used natural motifs almost exclusively in his designs, but they were reinterpreted for their appearance in two dimensions. Ruskin admitted only forms derived from Nature as acceptable for architectural ornament. The Art Nouveau was the culmination of Nature as an aesthetic expression, and it came appropriately at the end of the century. "Nature is a big book from which we can draw inspiration, and it is in that book that we must look for principles, which, when found have to be defined and applied by the human mind according to human needs."⁷

In the interpretation and application of these principles we find the greatest divergence. Perhaps at no other time have so many designers been producing, and prolifically, so many varied, individual expressions. This is one reason for the esoteric, precious aura about much of the production. Not that the *fin de siècle* architect had any idea of being precious, if we are to believe his public statements. They were as highly moral and social as those being published today, and an art for the people was as often expressed an ideal as art for art's sake. Actually, this was no more true then than today for the designer of genius does not produce for the public, but to satisfy his own impulses.

Generally the lesser designers chose to imitate Nature more or less directly. The projects by Rémon have stylized tree shapes appliquéd on walls, but his imagination could go no further and leaves, peacocks, female forms are used naturally and with little real decorative effect. Lalique's studies for jewels show minute inspection of plants and insects, but he was artist enough to use these details for a personal expression.

But the unique contribution of the late nineteenth century is a metamorphosis of Nature into all aesthetic expressions of the period. When Proust created Elstir as a composite portrait of the artist of the time he attributed the charm of his paintings to the metamorphosis of the objects represented in them, as in his painting of the harbor of Carquethuit. Here, Proust said, Elstir used only marine terms for the town and urban terms for the sea, thus giving his canvas a powerful unity, with the marine element the primary fact of the painting. Debussy transformed the sea, clouds, rain, into music. Loïe Fuller, the American dancer, became the sensation of Paris by exploiting this fashion. "The luminous and naïve Loïe Fuller dance is a product of American nature. The light effects are those of the Colorado cañons, and only the Florida butterflies, in their flight, can compete

6. Henry R. Hope, "The Sources of Art Nouveau," unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Harvard University, December, 1942.

7. Hector Guimard, "An Architect's Opinion of 'L'Art Nouveau,'" *Architectural Record*, XII, no. 2, June, 1902, p. 127.

with the chaste and diaphanous floating of her draperies."⁸ In literature Thomas Hardy used Egdon Heath as one of his most powerful protagonists. These were not imitations of Nature. The late nineteenth century artist was not interested in that attempt. His evocations were at once more subtle and more powerful than previous essays. The bird calls of Beethoven may create a pastoral atmosphere, but that atmosphere is not so convincing as the nature of Debussy. A Pre-Raphaelite summer afternoon is concerned most factually with foliage, sun, all the elements of the season, but it has not the warmth, light or breeze of an Impressionist July.

Only the greatest artists were able to express this metamorphosis convincingly. It would seem that building with its practical requirements and technical difficulties would be the most intractable of the arts to transfigure, but it is in architecture that the most subtle and original evocations of Nature occur. The works of Gaudí in Barcelona, Horta in Brussels, Guimard in Paris, Sullivan in Chicago, and, above all, Mackintosh in Glasgow, are the most convincing examples. Each designer has a different solution to the problem of metamorphosis. It is this difference that makes Art Nouveau architecture so difficult to classify. These architects had in common only the ideals of unity of building, interiors, and entourage and an expression of Nature. Certainly the "wavy line" does not enclose them.

Gaudí used Nature in the most direct way. In the Church of the Holy Family, plant, animal, and human forms are realistic, but grouped and massed in such a way that they become subordinate to an abstract, sculptural whole (Fig. 1). In the Parque Güell trees and grottoes are imitated in stone. But it is in the Casa Milá that Gaudí expresses Nature in a way that is completely his own. With architecture he recreates the sea in the center of Barcelona. The stone walls are moving waves, the balconies are seaweed and foam in iron, and living plants mingle with the metal leaves until it is difficult to separate them (Fig. 2). Interior ceilings are sandy beaches after the tide has receded (Fig. 3). The gates to the inner courts are coral forms, and the courts are splashed with blue, green, and purple, grottoes opening onto the sunny strand of the street. This is done not by a direct use of natural shapes but by an architectural impressionism.

Horta, in his series of town houses in Brussels, was interested in novel uses of space and in iron construction apart from the purely decorative aspects of the style he did so much to instigate. The effect of his interiors at first is of plant forms used almost directly, but investigation shows this is not true (Fig. 4). An extremely subtle and complex designer, Horta is unique in his concept of architectural materials. Metals, wood, marble, and glass may be so integrated in a Horta interior that they make a rich unity. Bronze stems blossom with glass orchids and irises to hold the electric bulbs. Metal columns grow into curving domes that hold translucent and colored glass. The glass design picks up the curves and extends them as leaflike arabesques. Balustrades grow from marble steps, the metal tendrils contained in architectural frames. In the Hôtel de Solvay first-floor partitions are glass: clear, translucent or colored, fixed or movable. These partitions, with the great central glass-roofed stair form a crystalline interior. The Art Nouveau curve is used on them in metal forms and glass patterns. If growing plants were placed before these walls the effect would be that of a luxurious conservatory and much of the plant material would be metal, glass, and wood. In these interiors Horta used chandeliers to suggest whirlpools, swirls of brass tubing ending in small electric bulbs. A Horta room seems to grow and blossom, to be composed of live forms controlled by a sensitive designer.

Guimard often expressed his dependence on Nature for his designs. His plans sometimes show an expressionist use of plant forms for room shapes (Fig. 5). A contemporary description of the Humbert de Romans Building indicates his power of transforming architecture into nature. "The hall is 29 yards long and 25 in width. It is formed of a visible structure, springing from the ground

8. J. M. P. Henson, "Pierre Roche, a Prominent Sculptor of the New School," *Architectural Record*, XIII, no. 1, January, 1903, p. 38.

at each corner and spreading in graceful curves like the branches of an immense tree, in a way which gives one somewhat the idea of a corner of a druidic forest."⁹ His best-known works, the Paris Métro stations, are suggestive of both growing plants and of insects, but examination reveals no direct copy from Nature. Guimard considered his architecture as unique and apart from the Art Nouveau and referred to his design as the "Style Guimard."

Of all the designers of the period the young Glasgow architect, Charles Rennie Mackintosh, was at once the most architectural and the most subtle in the metamorphosis of Nature. There is reason to believe that much of the natural ornament used by Mackintosh was designed by his wife, Margaret MacDonald Mackintosh. Throughout his work the Art Nouveau rose appears, sometimes as stenciled pattern, sometimes in leaded glass, often inlaid in cabinets with glass or enamel. But this is a usual ornament of the period and shows none of the genius of Mackintosh. Pevsner recognizes the great ability of Mackintosh to organize space. This ability is apparent in his first major work, the Glasgow School of Art. But Nature is there, too. The fence surrounding the light wells of the north front is composed of the simplest possible elements. Plain cylindrical bars, flat rolled strips, and the pierced metal discs that rise above the capping—the symbol of a tree, which Mackintosh was to use again (Fig. 6). The west façade is a cascade of stone and glass, curiously effective in the narrow chasm of the street. The coat of arms of Glasgow with a bell and the three natural elements of tree, bird, and salmon are changed into the almost completely abstracted iron sculpture suspended in the stair well. In the *Willow Tea Rooms*, done for Miss Cranston in 1904-1906, his imaginative and abstract use of Nature was shown at its height. The motifs are based on Nature but are never obviously natural. The plaster frieze, still in place, is derived from the willow leaf, but it is developed with such genius that the composition points to the research in form to be conducted later by Picasso and others. Dr. Thomas Howarth in his admirable *Mackintosh and the Modern Movement* explains the design of the *Room de Luxe* as an evocation of a willow grove. This is not done by tree forms but by the use of verticals in walls and furniture, and by the cool, airy colors and the shifting light of mirrors. This is an impressionism, an expression of the mysticism of Nature and growth, so often implicit in the design of Mackintosh.

Louis Sullivan had been inspired by Nature from his childhood, and his writings express his constant concern with its importance. To him it was the visible evidence of the Infinite, his conception of a Deity less remote than the traditional theological God. Man's senses were to receive the impulses from Nature, but they were seldom trained to this effectively. He believed that every child born with normal health could develop this receptivity. But it is so little nourished that it is a rare individual thus developed, and to him is given the name Genius. Art could have an endless capacity for expression, fluency, lyric quality, inexhaustible dramatic power when in kinship with Nature's rhythms. From his experience with Nature he evolved his natural law that form follows function, and from that grew the ubiquitous "organic" of the contemporary architect. Both terms are usually misunderstood and misinterpreted.

The functional qualities of Sullivan's buildings cannot be doubted. After more than half a century many are still used efficiently. But they do not show an attempt to transform Nature to architecture except in the ornament. The importance of ornament was a fundamental part of Sullivan's architectural theory. He insisted that it should have the spirit of the structure, "just as a certain kind of leaf must appear on a certain kind of tree." It should be inspired by Nature and be of endless variety. Sullivan made his system of ornament so individual an expression that for many years it obscured the greater importance of his architectural research. This was the fate of the Art Nouveau generally, so that even today more stress is laid upon its decorative qualities

9. Fernande Mazade, "An 'Art Nouveau' Edifice in Paris," *Architectural Record*, xii, May, 1902, p. 58.

than upon its concern with space, structure, and materials. Before the Art Nouveau was established, Sullivan had shown a prescience of its forms in his ornament and furniture for the Auditorium.¹⁰ The Auditorium established, too, Sullivan's basic vocabulary of ornament. In carved wood, plaster, wrought iron, mosaics, Nature is used as a completely new and personal expression in architecture. Enormously complex in its parts, this ornament reads easily as an enrichment and an accent to the structure. It is an interior ornament in this building, fragile and delicate usually. Its association with realistic landscape murals emphasizes the exotic, nonliteral use of natural forms. Later, as in the Gage Building and the Van Allen Store, strong stalks grow up the exterior of the structure, flowering vigorously at the top. But Sullivan's exterior treatment could be as delicate as on the Guaranty Building, where the walls are a shimmering fabric of lacy terra cotta. In none of his structures does Nature overcome the strong basic and proportioned geometry of his structure. Sullivan used Nature as his inspiration, but so completely translated its lessons that his buildings show Nature not transmuted into architecture but used most logically and beautifully to emphasize and adorn structure (Fig. 7).

By 1910 the Art Nouveau was finished. Nature was no longer an architectural inspiration. Past styles of architecture were being revived, and the trend of designers not working archaeologically was to a simplified, unornamented expression. This was perhaps first apparent in stage design, and curiously, for while dramatists were attempting to be more and more "real" the designs of Gordon Craig and Appia pointed to an abstract, geometric art. Irving Gill and Adolf Loos were making their experiments in stripped architecture. Wright used ornament lavishly, but a geometric ornament and not an evocation of Nature. Gradually the Machine took the place of Nature as the inspiration of the designer and by the twenties, when the cult of the Bauhaus and the International Style were being established, the Machine became metamorphosed into architecture, painting, ballet, poetry, and music. The catch-phrase of the period, was: "A house is a machine for living."

The great designers of the Art Nouveau period, except Gaudí and Horta, did little work after 1910. Sullivan in his writing, and in his portfolio of pencil sketches of ornament, his last works, manifested to the end his belief in Nature. His architecture, few as the examples are after 1910, show the same natural inspiration in the ornament as his early works, but he was largely forgotten and was not an influence on the rising generation of designers. Horta continued as a prolific and respected designer in Belgium, but he reverted to a neoclassicism that has little importance in a survey of contemporary architecture. Mackintosh did no major work in architecture after 1910, his last years being spent as a watercolorist. Guimard never lost his belief in the Style Guimard and had planned that his house was to become a museum of his work. World War II prevented this, and the drawings and photographs that were salvaged are in the Avery Library of Columbia University. Gaudí continued until his death in 1926 to work in his usual manner on the Church of the Holy Family. This will take many years to complete and Gaudí's designs are being followed as closely as possible. His architecture is highly esteemed in Barcelona and seems never to have lost favor. In this he is unique among the designers of the Art Nouveau.

Any movement that was as widespread as the Art Nouveau and that was accepted by the great designers of the time must have had positive virtues that have influenced later expressions. The experiments in space by Horta and Mackintosh (Fig. 8) are still exciting by any standards and the ways indicated are not yet completely explored. The interest and delight in materials shown throughout the movement are valuable today when materials are the only ornamentation allowed by most designers. The emphasis on the importance of the ensemble is evident in contemporary

10. "The partition walls between the wings and centre rest upon four columns of mahogany of polygonal form and beaded along each edge. The capitals are of polygonal shape, also, but rounded, so that they resemble one of Émile Gallé's queer bowls of Nancy ware." E. R. Garczynski, *Auditorium*, Chicago, 1890, p. 88.

work, and it is significant that the Art Nouveau was the first movement of the century whose designers insisted on unity of every detail of building, furnishings and entourage. This unity of expression is not a negative movement. The use of structure as expression reached its greatest virtuosity in the Art Nouveau. Guimard's "corner of a druidic forest," Gaudí's seascape of the Casa Milá, were achieved with the actual structure of the buildings. Perhaps Gaudí's greatest influence was on painting. Picasso, Miro, and Dali spent formative years in Barcelona. Dali tells of his admiration for the Art Nouveau generally and for Gaudí in particular in his *The Secret Life of Salvador Dali*.¹¹ Picasso's early cubist sculpture may be foreshadowed by Gaudí's chimneys of the Casa Milá, and the childlike fantasies of Miro by the Parque Güell. In painting, too, Guimard's Metro Station forms live on in the predatory plants and insects of Graham Sutherland, the foremost metamorphic painter of today.

In architecture and interior design the most direct descent of the Art Nouveau line can be found in contemporary Italian work. By-passed by the Bauhaus dogma, Italian architects did not have to break that rigid formula before experimenting with form in buildings and furniture, and curves and ornament are often evocative of the Art Nouveau. Latin America, too, has shown an interest in the curve and in a richness indicative of the earlier period.

We are still too close to the Art Nouveau to evaluate its importance or influences exactly, but it can be said with certainty that it was not a negative movement, that it had a greater influence on contemporary aesthetics than is generally supposed, and that it manifested itself through some of the greatest designers of the past hundred years. It is an important bridge between the confused archaeological expressions of the nineteenth century and contemporary architecture.

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11. Salvador Dali, *The Secret Life of Salvador Dali*, New York, 1942, pl. iv, pp. 288ff.



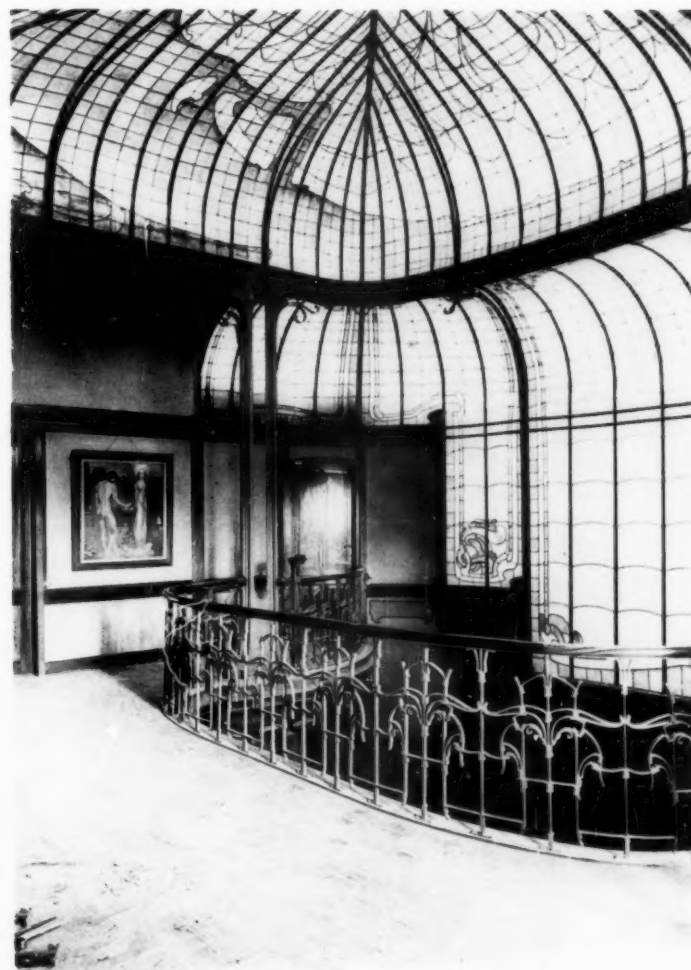
1. Antonio Gaudí. Church of the Holy Family, Barcelona. Detail, Slaughter of the Innocents, from façade of the Nativity, 1890-1900



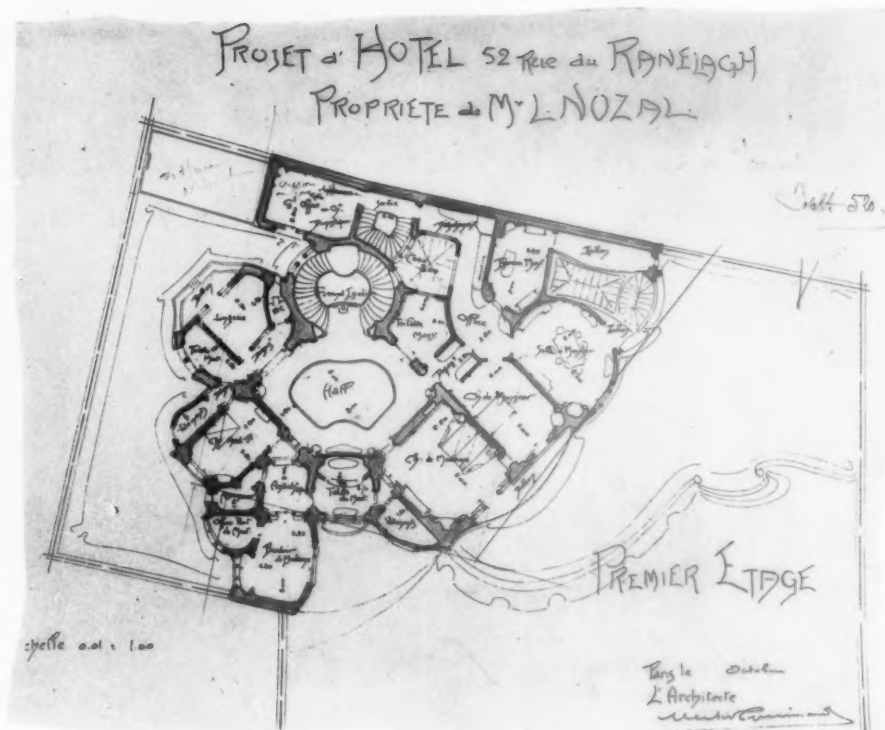
2. Antonio Gaudí. Casa Milà, Barcelona, 1905-1910
Detail of balconies



3. Antonio Gaudí. Casa Milà, Barcelona, 1905-1910
Detail of first-floor ceiling



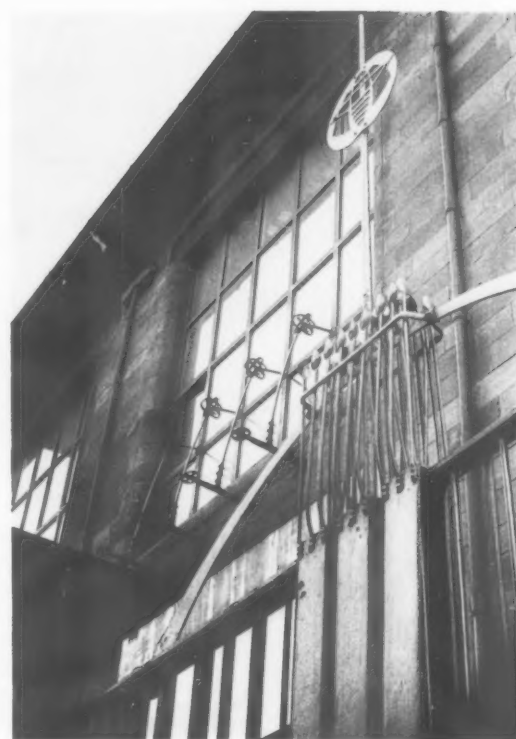
4. Baron Victor Horta. Hôtel Aubecq, Brussels, 1900-1905
(demolished 1951). Stair hall (photo: Teichmann)



5. Hector Guimard. Project, Hôtel de Nozal, Paris 1902
First-floor plan (photo: Avery Library)



7. Louis Sullivan. Carson Pirie Scott Store, Chicago, 1899-1904
Detail of entrance (photo: R. M. Line)



6. C. R. Mackintosh. School of Art, Glasgow
1897-1899. Detail of railing, north façade



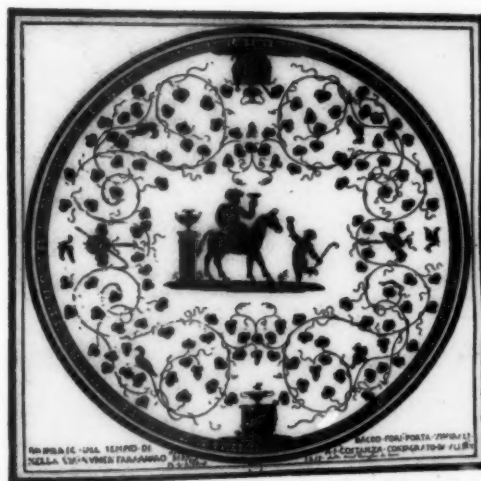
8. C. R. Mackintosh. Scotland Street
School, Glasgow, 1904. Detail of stairway



1. The Ship of Bacchus (Cartari)



2. Sta. Costanza, Interior (Francisco d'Ollanda)



3. Floor Mosaic from Sta. Costanza (Bartoli)



4. Mosaic Floor from Djemila Depicting Life of Bacchus



5. Niche with Stucco Decoration in a Mausoleum at Portus



1. Lucas Cranach, the Elder. *Christ Blessing the Children*. Naumburg, St. Wenceslaus Church



2. Lucas Cranach, the Elder. *Christ Blessing the Children*
Frankfurt a.M., Städelsches Kunstinstitut



3. Lucas Cranach, the Elder. *Christ Blessing the Children*. Hamburg, Kunsthalle

NOTES

STA. COSTANZA*

KARL LEHMANN

After half a century of discussion, Wilpert, in his monumental work on the mosaics and frescoes of the churches of Rome, asserted: "It is now undisputed that the building [Sta. Costanza] was erected by Christians and for Christian purposes."¹ That assertion was an overstatement then and it remains so today.

The fact is that in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries most writers on the subject had argued in favor of such a theory. Their arguments were based on confused texts starting in the sixth century, on the description of Ugonio, a man primarily interested in Christian lore who saw the partly destroyed dome mosaics before they were dismantled, and on Renaissance drawings of these mosaics. All this evidence is ambiguous, whereas, on the other hand, it is quite well established that what is now preserved of the original decoration of Sta. Costanza, mosaics as well as the one of the two sarcophagi which once were there, gives no clear hint of Christian ideas, although it alludes several times to Bacchic symbolism. It is today, indeed, widely assumed that all the clearly Christian elements and scenes now preserved in Sta. Costanza are surely later additions and transformations.

The problem remains important in view of the very significance of the building and its decoration for the history of the age of transition from pagan to Christian art. Furthermore, if Sta. Costanza had been built by Christians for Christian purposes, in its original state it would have been an extreme example of the reinterpretation of pagan motives. In fact, it has often been referred to as such.² Finally, there is the problem of the historical facts involved regarding the character and position of the two daughters of Constantine once buried in Sta. Costanza and, possibly, of Constantine himself.

Yet it might be futile to take up the question once again were it not that what may be a decisive document has, curiously enough, been overlooked in the discussion as far as I can see: a document that, in my opinion, proves the originally pagan character of the monument.

It will be recalled that throughout the sixteenth century Renaissance writers adhered to the theory that Sta. Costanza was originally a pagan building and, more specifically, a "Temple of Bacchus." A wide-

spread opinion held that the porphyry sarcophagus of Constantina was the "Tomb of Bacchus." Ugonio, as far as we can see, was the first at the turn of the sixteenth to the seventeenth century to advocate a Christian origin,³ believing that he could recognize Christian iconography in some of the scenes of the dome mosaic⁴—which was already so badly destroyed as to be removed soon afterwards. Other critics had seen in these mosaics, too, "idolatrous" subjects. One would suppose that educated, if not biased, critics of the sixteenth century who saw the dome in a better state than it was in Ugonio's time would have recognized scenes from the Bible, if there were any. They could still have maintained their theory of the original pagan character of the building in spite of the Christian scenes and symbols which they saw—as we see them—and which, in their opinion, were added later, as indeed they were. In theory, the dome-mosaic, too, could have been added or renewed sometime in the fifth or sixth century or even in the Middle Ages, so far as they were concerned. But they believed what they saw in the dome, too, to be pagan and Bacchic.

The modern advocates of the Christian origin of Sta. Costanza have been rather high-handed in disposing of the consensus of Renaissance writers regarding its pagan origin. They have not only implied that these writers did not recognize the Christian theological subjects they saw in the dome. They have also assumed that they based their Bacchic interpretation merely on what we know: vintage scenes in the vaults of the ambulatory and on the sarcophagus of Constantina and Bacchic "decorative" motives such as the caryatids with tigers, lions, and dolphins in the dome.

But it is rash to assume that the Renaissance writers saw nothing but what we see today and, in addition, what happens to be recorded by various Renaissance artists, foremost among them Francisco d'Olanda, of fragments of the decoration of the dome! Ugonio, in turn, who may have seen less than earlier generations of his century could have seen, was interested only in the clearly Christian subjects, or those—in the dome—which he tried to interpret as such. We have no full description of the entire building and its decoration from that time.

It is, furthermore, a questionable procedure to assume that the various Renaissance writers who speak of "*dei gesta*"⁵ or "*res gestae*"⁶ of Bacchus in Sta.

* I am greatly indebted to Richard Krautheimer who has generously helped me with his incomparable knowledge of the monuments of Rome. Hyatt Mayor has liberally put at my disposal the rare collection of editions of Serlio in the Print Room of the Metropolitan Museum of Art.

1. J. Wilpert, *Die römischen Mosaiken und Malereien der kirchlichen Bauten*, Freiburg, 1916, I, pp. 277f. with references to the earlier bibliography. C. R. Morey has rightly maintained a cautious and critical position, saying that Sta. Costanza is "of very doubtful Christianity in its original decoration" (*Early Christian Art*, Princeton, 1942, p. 142. See also *idem*, *Medieval Art*, New York, 1942, p. 45). For a handy bibliography on Sta. Costanza, see C. Cecchelli, *S.*

Agnese fuori le mura e S. Costanza (Le Chiese di Roma illustrate, No. 10), Rome, n.d.

2. See, for example, Wilpert, *loc.cit.*, F. Jubaru "La Decorazione bacchica del mausoleo Cristiano di Santa Costanza," *L'Arte*, VII, 1904, pp. 460ff.

3. See, Wilpert, *op.cit.*, p. 276.

4. As to Ugonio and his modern followers, Morey refers to the "figure scenes" in the dome, "which have been laboriously, but with no conviction, interpreted as Biblical" (*Early Christian Art, loc.cit.*).

5. I. B. Marliani, *Antiquae Romae Topographia Libri Septem*, Rome, 1534, Book VII, chapter 15: "Via Nomentana, citra secundum lapidem, occurrit a sinistra S. Agnetis ecles.,

Costanza were mistaken in alluding to narrative representations showing the god himself. It is hard to accept the elimination of documents referring to the specific appearance of the pagan god on the assumption that the Renaissance critics thus paraphrased vintage scenes and decorative motives.⁷

Among the authors thus disposed of by modern critics, including outstanding men like Andreas Fulvius and Fabricius, is I. B. Marliani,⁸ a precise and critical observer. Two generations before Ugonio, he speaks of Sta. Costanza as the Temple of Bacchus . . . "where there are ornamental mosaic pictures, and where there are told the deeds of the god in pictures, and where there is the porphyry tomb with vines and grapes in relief, which many people fabulously identify with the tomb of Bacchus." I see no justification for not taking this at face value: Marliani saw pictures with "the deeds of the god." More than a century later, Nardini reports (as an argument for the assumption that Sta. Costanza was originally a temple of Bacchus) that there was "an ancient mosaic representing, as is said, the life of Bacchus."⁹ These testimonies have been mentioned but discarded.

Let us turn now to a document that seems to have escaped attention and to prove that the sixteenth century critics mentioned did indeed see at least some of the deeds of Bacchus in Sta. Costanza.

It is found in a source not often examined by students of Roman buildings or Early Christian archaeologists, though in a book sufficiently well known. Vincenzo Cartari, discussing the imagery of Dionysos-Bacchus, refers to the story of the Tyrrhenian pirates who attack the god's ship and are transformed into dolphins. For an authentic illustration of Dionysos in his miraculous ship, he quotes Philostratus the Elder's *Imagines* (I, 19) where the ship is described as having cymbals on the stern, a prow in the shape of a golden panther, a thyrsos serving as mast, purple sails with gold-woven scenes of the childhood of the god, a vine forming an awning and a fountain of wine miraculously rising from the hold, Dionysos himself standing on the prow. And a woodcut gives an illustration of this text (Fig. 1). Then Cartari states: "Still in our time one sees almost an identical ship represented in very handsome mosaic work in Rome in the Church of Sant' Agnese"¹⁰

and in what once was a temple of Bacchus," that is, clearly, in Sta. Costanza. The miraculous ship of Dionysos could only be shown with the god in it, and was probably shown in a picture alluding to the story of the Tyrrhenians. The passage thus offers an interesting example, among many, of an analogy between the paintings described by Philostratus and a monument no longer preserved today, but still visible in the Renaissance. It also offers definite proof that the *gesta* of Bacchus of which the other Renaissance writers speak in Sta. Costanza were not mere allusions to Bacchic ideas, such as we still see there, but included the appearance of the god himself and certain of his actions. Cartari, who was born in 1503, certainly saw these things not later than 1550, almost half a century before Ugonio, and it is conceivable, though not necessarily to be assumed, that such overtly pagan scenes had been destroyed by Ugonio's time. Nevertheless, their existence is well documented by Cartari's specific allusion and it proves that Sta. Costanza was built by pagans for pagan purposes.

The question arises where these narrative scenes were placed. One might first think of the dome, particularly in view of the fact that at about the same time Fabricius mentions the "*res gestae Bacchi*" as being "*in fornice*," i.e., in a vault.¹¹ But this learned man could have confused items from different sources. Given the marine character of the scene, one might think that it could have been placed in the "Oceanus" frieze, animated by boats with putti, which forms the lower border of the dome mosaic. But the section of this frieze drawn by Francisco d'Ollanda between 1539 and 1540 does not contain the ship mentioned by Cartari.¹² Moreover, this narrow band hardly offers sufficient space for such a ship and narrative scene. There were also small rectangular upper fields containing *storie* held by figures over the large caryatids and main scenes of the dome.¹³ But they would have been very small and distant—hardly allowing such details as Cartari mentions to be distinguished.

Another possibility is more convincing to me: that of floor mosaics.¹⁴ Serlio, whose observations were made between 1514 and 1527 speaks of Sta. Costanza as "rich in (ornamental) work and in beautiful and variegated stones, and in mosaics, on the floor as well as on

prope quam visitur vetustissimum Bacchi Templum, Spherica forma, columnis circumquoque in gyrum dispositis, templique testudinem sustentibus. Ubi e musivo opere ornamenta picturae et ipsius dei gesta effigiate cernuntur, et Porphyriticum sepulcrum vitibus, et uvis insculptum, quod Bacchi esse multi fabulantur."

Andreas Fulvio, *L'Antichità di Roma*, Venice, 1588, p. 10: "Tempio di Baccho etc. . . ove . . . appariscono effigiate i gesti di esso Iddio. . . ." The addition added to this chapter states that it was written before 1561; the first edition was printed in 1543.

6. Fabricius, *Romanorum antiquitatum libri duo* (1560, preface dated 1550): "Templum Bacchi, nunc S. Constantia . . . in fornice sunt *res gestae Bacchi*" (quoted by E. Müntz, *Revue archéologique*, 1875, II, pp. 227ff.).

7. Thus, Müntz, *loc.cit.*; G. B. de Rossi, *Mosaici christiani delle chiese di Roma*, Rome 1894, s.v. S. Costanza.

8. See, above, note 5.

9. F. Nardini, *Roma antica*, Rome, 1666. ". . . un mosaico

antichissimo rappresentante, come dicono, la vita di Baccho." Müntz, *loc.cit.*

10. Vincenzo Cartari, *Le Imagini de i dei de gli antichi*, Lyon, 1581, p. 363: "Vedesi a tempi nostri anchora quasi la medesima Nave fatta à bellissime figure di musaico in Roma nella Chiesa di Sant' Agnese e già tempio di Baccho."

11. See, above, note 5.

12. E. Torno, *Os Desenhos des Antigual has que vio Francisco d'Ollanda pintor Português*, Madrid, 1940, fol. 27v.

13. E. Müntz, *Revue archéologique*, 1878, I, pp. 353ff., pl. XI.

14. Ugonio's description refers to the floor as patched with fragments of Greek and Latin tombstones; Wilpert, *op.cit.*, p. 299 n. 5. That does not mean that the mosaic floor was completely destroyed even at his time. The center panel drawn later by Bartoli was evidently preserved at least in part. But it is not likely that the sarcophagus of Constantina (or Helen?) stood in the center, as has sometimes been assumed.

the walls and even in the central dome and in the vaults which circle around it.¹⁵ Francisco d'Ollanda's comprehensive view of the interior (Fig. 2),¹⁶ as so often happens, is more generalized and sketchy in some sections than in others—in this case, the lower parts of the building are drawn in less detail. But while he clearly indicates marble floor slabs in the ring of the colonnade, he shows in the central area a circular medallion from which four rectangular fields radiate. The quadrant-shaped sections between these four fields are much too large to have been covered by single marble slabs. The floor of the ambulatory, too, bears no indication of pavement slabs. On the other hand, the decorative disposition of the central area is best understood as indicating a mosaic floor. And such a floor would have offered space, for instance, for at least four narrative scenes from the life of Dionysos (cf. Fig. 4).¹⁷

It will be recalled that in the following century Bartoli drew a circular mosaic picture, reportedly from Sta. Costanza, showing a riding Silenus (Fig. 3),¹⁸ a type almost exactly corresponding to a stucco relief in an earlier mausoleum at Ostia (Fig. 5).¹⁹ It would have been a fitting centerpiece, occupying the central field in Francesco's drawing of a Bacchic floor mosaic.²⁰ Now that we know that Sta. Costanza contained at least one other clearly pagan and Bacchic scene, there is no reason to discard this monument as Wilpert has.

If Sta. Costanza was originally a pagan building, its

Renaissance interpretation as a Temple of Bacchus is not quite as absurd as it has been said to be. The building was situated on an imperial suburban estate and was accessible from a large circus-shaped enclosure. Such enclosures are well known to every student of Roman villas and palaces. They are gardens in the form of hippodromes or stadia known, for instance, from Pliny's Tuscan villa, on the Palatine, and at Hadrian's villa in Tivoli.²¹ Temples were often situated on villa property²² and a temple was included in Diocletian's palace at Spalato. A round temple would be as fitting for Bacchus as for several other gods. Bacchus had, indeed, such a circular temple facing a counterpart, a temple of Magna Mater, on the Via Sacra in Rome²³ and religious representations in the dome, possibly in mosaic, are documented for the latter.

Yet one objection to this Renaissance theory is cogent: the use of a temple, even secondarily and on private property, as a mausoleum is unheard of. Also, the Bacchic vintage motive of the porphyry sarcophagus of "Constantina" accords with the rest of the Bacchic decoration of the original building.²⁴ On the other hand, mausolea, too, were customarily built on suburban estates and villas and, again, Diocletian included his own mausoleum of a type related to that of Sta. Costanza in his palace at Spalato. The association of tombs with gardens, *jardins funéraires*,²⁵ was deeply rooted in Roman tradition. All indications are that Sta. Costanza was originally built as a pagan mausoleum.

15. G. Serlio, *Il Terzo Libro*, Venice, 1540, p. 18: "ricco di lavori e di belle e diverse pietre, e di musaichi, si nel pavimento come ne i pareti, ed anchora nel cielo di mezzo e ne la botte che gira intorno. . . ." Wilpert's interpretation (*loc.cit.*) is linguistically impossible. The same wording occurs in the editions of 1544 and 1551. Some later editions have left out the crucial reference to the floor (for example, ed. Venice, 1663). For Serlio's stay in Rome see: H. Heydenreich in Thieme-Becker, *Allgemeines Lexikon der bildenden Künstler*, XXX, Leipzig, 1936, pp. 513ff.; W. B. Dinsmoor, *ART BULLETIN*, XXIV, 1942, p. 64.

16. *Op.cit.*, fol. 22r. A very sketchy indication of this arrangement of the floor may conceivably be recognized in the sketch by G. A. Dosio (A. Bartoli, *I Monumenti antichi di Roma nei disegni degli Uffizi di Firenze*, v, Rome, 1922, pl. 149, fig. 825).

17. The second century A.D. mosaic floor with *gesta Bacchi* from Djemila (Fig. 4) has been published in *Monuments et Mémoires Piot*, XXXV, 1935-36, p. 141, fig. 1.

18. More recent illustrations are based on Jubaru, *op.cit.*, p. 461. Wilpert was forced to accuse Bartoli of forgery to save his doctrine. Morey, *Christian Art*, *loc.cit.*, and Cecchelli, *op.cit.*, rightly accepted Bartoli's evidence.

19. G. Calza, *La Necropoli del Porto di Roma nell' Isola Sacra*, Rome, 1940, p. 126, fig. 56. Calza, also, refers to Bartoli, *Sepolcri antichi*, fig. 14. Inasmuch as the peacock appearing in the vaults of Sta. Costanza has been interpreted as a specifically Christian symbol, it may be noted that in this pagan tomb of the second century A.D. a symbolical peacock appears in the vault over the Bacchic scene.

20. This position has already been suggested by Cecchelli, *op.cit.*, p. 30.

21. See my *Plinio Il Giovane, Lettere scelte con commento archeologico* (Testi della Scuola Normale superiore di Pisa III), Florence, 1936, p. 54 n. 112; P. Grimal, *Les Jardins romains* (*Bibliothèque des écoles françaises d'Athènes et de Rome*, 155), Paris, 1943, pp. 265ff. The existence of Christian tombs dating probably from the fourth century A.D. in this

area does not prove that it was laid out as a Camposanto. Nor do the remnants of *cellae trichorae* beneath the vestibule of Sta. Costanza attest early funeral use. Compare, for example, the two similar structures flanking the entrance pavilion of the *Piazza d'Oro* in Hadrian's villa at Tivoli.

F. W. Deichmann ("Die Lage der konstantinischen Basilika der Heiligen Agnes an der Via Nomentana," *Rivista di archeologia cristiana*, XXII, 1946, pp. 1ff.) has advanced the curious theory that the substructure and other remnants of the porticus belong to a huge fourth century A.D. Basilica of S. Agnes to which the Mausoleum of Constantina was attached and which later was transplanted to the present position over the tomb of the Martyr. The structural features preserved are entirely in harmony with the tradition of Roman villa gardens and without analogy in Early Christian church architecture. The idea of the ruin and later transfer of such a church to another site (on which the original worship is documented) seems preposterous. The argument is based (see p. 13) on the assumptions that Sta. Costanza was built as a Christian mausoleum and that the structure to which it is attached, though earlier (see, M. Stettler, *Mitteilungen des deutschen archäologischen Instituts, Römische Abteilung*, 58, 1943, p. 78, Beilage, 1), was also Christian in character. The fact is that the princesses were buried in a mausoleum on the grounds of an imperial villa (*suburbanum*), where there also was a chapel of St. Agnes which later became a great church. The oratorical praise of the acrostic (p. 3) does not state or prove a big size for the original building.

22. See, now, Phyllis W. Lehmann, *Roman Wall Paintings from Boscoreale in the Metropolitan Museum of Art*, Cambridge, Mass., 1953, pp. 123f.

23. Platner and Ashby, *A Topographical Dictionary of Ancient Rome*, Oxford, 1929, p. 321, s.v. Lyaeus. D. F. Brown, *Temples of Rome as Coin Types* (*Numismatic Notes and Monographs*, 90), New York, 1942, pl. VI, 1; Martial, *Epigrams*, I, 79, 10.

24. See, especially, Jubaru, *op.cit.*, p. 466.

25. P. Grimal, *op.cit.*, index, s.v. *jardins funéraires*.

But when and for whom was this magnificent mausoleum built? Constantina, the elder daughter of Constantine, died unexpectedly in 354 in Bithynia on a voyage from Antioch to Constantinople and her body was transported to Rome to be deposited in the mausoleum that later became Sta. Costanza. She must herself, on her deathbed or previously, have expressed the desire to be buried in that mausoleum. Six years later, her younger sister Helen, when she too died, was sent to Rome by her husband, Julian the Apostate, to be buried in the same place.

Constantina, as a *virgo*, had in her early years taken a special interest in the imperial estate of the Villa on the Via Nomentana. That must have been in the twenties of the fourth century. In the well-known acrostic inscription of Sant' Agnese she is mentioned as a virgin addicted to the Christian faith who gave means for building the first church on that imperial property.²⁶

But since she was married to Hannibalianus and later, after his death, to Gallus, in the thirties, forties and early fifties, she was, for all we know, always in the East. And did she continue to be dedicated to the Christian faith? Her first husband Hannibalianus was killed in 337 in the infamous massacre, partly instigated by Christian clergy, which followed the death of Constantine. Her second husband Gallus, the half-brother of Julian and during youthful years his companion in sorrow due to the Christian emperor Constantius' repressions, was certainly not pro-Christian and he was associated with the "atheist" Aetius. Constantina herself, described by the mild Ammianus in her later years as a rapacious, cruel, and murderous "Megaera," was by that time far from the ideal Christian maiden which she may have been thirty years before.

And Julian? Why should he have sent the body of Constantina's sister Helen, a ruling princess, to be buried with her in the mausoleum in Rome, unless this mausoleum was pagan in character and imperial? Both princesses were buried in a city less Christian than Constantinople and in an extant pagan mausoleum. In view of the facts and in the context of the history of that decade, this is the only plausible explanation.²⁷

Under the circumstances, is it hazardous to suggest²⁸ that the two daughters of the great Constantine wished and obtained burial in an imperial family mausoleum

that the Emperor himself had commissioned in Rome either immediately after his victory over Maxentius in 312 or when he last visited Rome in 326, before he founded the new Eastern and, from the beginning, pre-eminently Christian capital in which he himself was ultimately to be buried in a church of the new faith?

NEW YORK UNIVERSITY

LUCAS CRANACH'S *CHRIST BLESSING THE CHILDREN* A PROBLEM OF LUTHERAN ICONOGRAPHY

CHRISTINE OZAROWSKA KIBISH

The story of Christ Blessing the Children, in which divine tenderness answers human love in the sublime saying, "Suffer the little children to come unto me and forbid them not for of such is the kingdom of heaven," is related by three of the Evangelists, Matthew (19:13-15), Luke (18:15-17) and Mark (10:13-16). It is noteworthy that, although this story is contained in three Gospels, it occurred so rarely in art before Lucas Cranach. In the Painters' Book of Mount Athos there is a simple description of this theme, but Didron, translator and commentator of the book, in a footnote states bluntly that this item is "modern."¹

There must have been a picture of this subject in the basilica of St. Gall, which was built around 830 by Gozbert, since in the *tituli* recorded in "Carmina Sangallensia" No. VII there is mention of a picture, *Christ Blessing the Children*.² Another trace in *tituli* is found in the verses by Ekkehard IV at the beginning of the eleventh century for the cathedral in Mainz.³

In a recently discovered cycle of Carolingian frescoes in Müstair, dated before 800, the scene of Christ blessing the children has been recognized.⁴

In his article, "Die Wandgemälde von S. Angelo in Formis," Franz Xavier Kraus expressed an opinion that an almost obliterated scene in the middle register of a fresco, dated 1058-1086, on the north wall of the nave of the Church of St. Angelo in Formis, represents Christ Blessing the Children, but E. Dobbert in his article on the same fresco declines to discuss this scene because of the condition of the fresco.⁵

Constantine would have neglected to build a mausoleum for himself. . . ."

26. Richard Krautheimer, *Corpus Basilicarum Christianarum Romae* I, 1, Rome, 1937, p. 16.

27. The theory that Gallus commissioned the construction of Sta. Costanza from the East after the death of Constantina (Jubaru, *op.cit.*, p. 467) is highly improbable to any reader of the historical records of those years. The portraits of the ambulatory vault may be identified with many members of the Constantinian family of both epochs, so ambiguous is their character.

28. A similar suggestion—without demonstration of pagan origin—has already been made by G. T. Rivoira, *Roman Architecture*, Oxford, 1926, p. 238. This theory would account for a problem recently referred to by E. Baldwin Smith, *The Dome*, Princeton, 1950, p. 25, who assumes with Downey that the Church of the Holy Apostles and the imperial mausoleum at Constantinople were built by Constantius and not by Constantine himself: "while it may still seem unlikely that

1. Adolphe Napoleon Didron, *Manuel d'iconographie chrétienne*, Paris, 1845, I, p. 182.

2. Julius von Schlosser, *Schriftquellen zur Geschichte der Karolingischen Kunst*, Vienna, 1896, N.F. IV, p. 328.

3. *ibid.*, N.F. IV, p. 331.

4. L. Birchler, "Zur Ikonographie der Karolingischen Wandmalereien von Müstair," a lecture given in Munich in the winter of 1954 in the Zentralinstitut für Kunstgeschichte, report given in *Kunstchronik*, April 1954, Heft 4, p. 102.

5. Franz Xavier Kraus, "Die Wandgemälde von S. Angelo in Formis" in *Jahrbuch der Königlich Preussischen Kunstsammlungen*, Berlin, XIV, 1893, p. 93, and E. Dobbert, "Zur byzantinischen Frage. Die Wandgemälde in S. Angelo in

Among other wall-paintings we find this scene depicted in the 119th panel of the ceiling of the nave of St. Martin's Church in Zillis of the first half of the twelfth century, and in a fresco of the thirteenth or fourteenth century on the east wall of the central apse in the church of Nicoara in Curtea de Arges.⁶

I have been able to find only the following examples of this subject in mediaeval manuscripts:⁷

Munich: Staatsbibl., Clm. 4433, Cim. 58. Gospel Book of Otto III, fol. 116v, eleventh-twelfth century.

Florence: Laurenziana, Plut. VI. 23. Gospel Book, fols. 39r, 82r, 147r, eleventh century.

Paris: Bib. Nat., gr. 74. Gospel Book, fols. 38r, 85r, 148r, twelfth century.

Baltimore: Walters Art Gall., 539. Gospel Book, fol. 83v, dated 1262.

London: Brit. Mus., Add. 39627. Gospel Book, fols. 57r, 113v, 191v, dated 1356.

An ivory plaque dated 962-973 in the LeRoy Collection in Paris also depicts this scene.

Finally, Mrs. Jameson mentions an embroidered Byzantine dalmatic preserved in the archives in the sacristy of St. Peter in Rome which she thinks is a scene representing Christ Blessing the Children instead of Abraham with the Souls as believed by Lord Lindsay.⁸ Lord Lindsay's interpretation, however, seems more probable.

When we consider the rarity of this subject "Christ Blessing the Children" in mediaeval art, it is interesting to note its gain in popularity from the sixteenth century onward. Ludwig Burchard in his article "Christ Blessing the Children by van Dyck" enumerates paintings by Joos van Winghe (engraved by Jan Sedeler in 1588), Adam van Noort (Brussel Gallery), Cornelis Cornelissen van Haarlem (Haarlem Gallery) and Werner van Valckert, dated 1620 (Utrecht Gallery).⁹ There is also a well-known painting of this subject in the National Gallery, London, no longer attributed to Rembrandt but with no agreement at present as to who painted it.

Formis" in *Jahrbuch der Königlich Preussischen Kunstsammlungen*, Berlin, xv, 1894, p. 136.

6. Erwin Poeschel, *Die romanischen Deckengemälde von Zillis*, Erlenbach-Zürich, 1941, pl. 58, no. 5; and G. Tafrali, *Monuments byzantins de Curtea de Arges*, Paris, 1931, pl. xxxiii, no. 28.

7. Acknowledgment is due for this list to Miss Rosalie Green, director of the Index of Christian Art at Princeton University, Princeton, New Jersey.

8. Mrs. Jameson, *History of Our Lord*, London, 1892, I, p. 328.

9. Ludwig Burchard, "Christ Blessing the Children by van Dyck," *Burlington Magazine*, January-June, 1938, p. 29. The painting in question, at one time credited to Rubens, was formerly in Blenheim Castle but is now in the National Gallery in Ottawa, Canada.

10. The painting is reproduced in Max J. Friedländer and Jakob Rosenberg, *Die Gemälde von Lucas Cranach*, Berlin, 1932, no. 179. Measurements: 1.04 x 1.40 m, beech. They remark that no date is to be found on the painting, merely a monogram. In his reply to my query, Dr. M. Kunze, director of Anger-Museum in Erfurt, kindly forwarded to me a letter dated July 25, 1954, from the parish of St. Wenceslaus in

We wish, however, to consider rather the paintings, earlier than those just mentioned, which came from Lucas Cranach, for the subject was painted and drawn by Lucas Cranach and his workshop several times. A painting which is now in Naumburg, in the church of St. Wenceslaus (Fig. 1), was considered for a long time by the scholars as being the first of this subject painted by him and it was believed to be done in 1529. Further studies, however, have tended to shift the date to a later period, even as late as after 1537.¹⁰ Most of the preserved variants of the same subject are dated after 1537 but some of them are earlier, according to Friedländer and Rosenberg, such as a painting in Frankfurt, in the Städelsches Kunstinstitut (Fig. 2).¹¹ They feel also that the paintings which appeared at the de Mauer auction in Cologne in 1907, as well as a small picture at Dr. Wendland's in Berlin with the figures in full length, belong to the period before 1537.¹²

There is a painting in Hamburg (Kunsthalle) by Cranach similar in composition which bears the date 1538 on the painting itself (Fig. 3).¹³

The subject is represented in the different paintings in very similar fashion. For example, the composition of the paintings in Frankfurt, Naumburg, and Hamburg follow a scheme in which a group of densely crowded figures is placed against a flat background. The surrounding frame cuts very low above the heads of the figures thus increasing the effect of closeness and density. Within the center of the crowd stands Christ caressing two infants; to his right is a group of mothers and babies and a group of apostles, to his left we see another group of women with their children.

Except for slight variations in number of figures and types of gestures, all three versions are basically alike. The gesture of Christ is the same. There are the same motives in groupings, as a woman feeding the baby (a motive lacking in the Hamburg variant), a child climbing the back of Christ, and a woman in prayer. Generally speaking, in the Frankfurt version the story is told with an excess of agitated movements and gestures

Naumburg, which states that there is a monogram of a snake without wings in the right upper corner of the painting, which had just been restored. In the catalog of the exhibition in Berlin (*Lucas Cranach d.Ä. und Lucas Cranach d.J. Ausstellung im Deutschen Museum*, Berlin, April-June 1937, Staatliche Museen, Berlin), p. 143, this painting is listed as having been done after 1537 (according to its style, as Dr. H. Zimmermann, the director of the museum, kindly explained to me in his letter of May 5, 1954). Although Hans Posse, *Lucas Cranach d.Ä.*, Vienna, 1942, p. 61, no. 78, quotes the date 1529 accepted by Christian Schuchardt, *Lucas Cranach des Älteren Leben und Werke*, Leipzig, 1951, II, p. 100, most scholars seem to agree that the painting was done after 1529.

11. Städelsches Kunstinstitut, Frankfurt am Main, 0.83 x 1.22 m, wood. Acquired in 1923 from Freiherr Adolf von Holzhausen.

12. Friedländer und Rosenberg, *op.cit.*, no. 179.

13. *ibid.*, reproduced no. 291. 0.835 x 1.21 m, limewood, Hamburg Kunsthalle, catalog of 1930 no. 618. Signed with the snake (with horizontal wings) and dated. An inscription in the upper part: "Und sie brachten Kindlein zu Im das er sie anrurte/Marcus am X."

whereas in the Naumburg example the effect is that of dignity and calmness.

Lucas Cranach, the Younger, also tried his hand at this subject. The treatment of the figures and the grouping does not differ very much from his father's, as is shown by the pen-drawing in Leipzig, which was probably a sketch for a mural.¹⁴

Other paintings of the subject stemming from Lucas Cranach are: a painting, probably done by his workshop in Dresden, dated 1538; another one in Ystad, dated 1538; one in the possession of P. and D. Colnaghi in London; one in the collection of Otto Smith at Karls-hamn in Sweden, dated 1541; one in the Statens Museum in Copenhagen, done by his workshop; and two other paintings, one in the Pauline church in Leipzig and one in the Gallery Nostitz in Prague, which might have been done by Lucas Cranach the Younger.¹⁵ In St. Ann's church in Augsburg, there is a painting by Lucas Cranach of this subject, and in the Gotha Museum there are three miniatures which may be the early works of Lucas Cranach the Younger.¹⁶

The purpose of this article is not to evaluate any particular painting of this subject, but rather to investigate why it should have been treated so frequently by Cranach and his workshop.

Various opinions have been advanced to account for the painting of this scene by Lucas Cranach. Burchard in the article mentioned above observes that, since other reasons are unknown, there is a probability that a lost Italian original was the source for this composition for Lucas Cranach as well as for van Dyck, and he points to Venice as the probable place of origin of this prototype because of the friezelike arrangements. On the other hand, Buchholz in his book on Protestantism and art calls attention to the popularity of this subject among Protestants and relates the constant reoccurrence of this theme in Cranach's paintings to Luther's liking for children.¹⁷ The question as to what inspired the frequent painting of this theme by Cranach therefore remains open, especially since no records of the commission for the first picture have been found, although it is known that several pictures of the same subject were purchased by the Elector of Saxony, as is evidenced by records of payments dated 1539, 1543, and 1550.¹⁸

The answer to this question may be found in the study of the background of Cranach and the atmosphere in which the painting was conceived; nor may the powerful personality of Martin Luther, who exercised his influence in Wittenberg at that time, be ignored.

We are not concerned here with Cranach prior to

his entering the services of the elector at Wittenberg in 1504. From that time onward he was court painter and on intimate terms with elector Friedrich der Weise and the two succeeding electors Johann der Beständige and Johann Friedrich. Standing in good grace at the princely court, as well as being Stadtkämmerer and later Bürgermeister, he was likely to have come in contact with all celebrities of the town.

When Martin Luther was appointed to the University of Wittenberg as professor of theology in 1508 it was unavoidable that the two men should meet. Luther's ideas on various religious problems met a friendly reception at the princely court and from the magistrates of the town. A circle of adherents gathered around him, to which Lucas Cranach belonged, and, as is well known, a close friendship developed between the two men. In 1520 Luther became the godfather of Anna, the daughter of Lucas Cranach. Cranach was one of the few witnesses at the wedding of Luther on June 13, 1525, at which even Melancthon was not present.¹⁹ The next year, on June 7, 1526, Lucas Cranach became the godfather of Luther's son, Johannes.²⁰ The numerous portraits of Luther and of his family which were done by Cranach or by his workshop may be interpreted as further evidence of the close ties between them. Besides the bonds of friendship there was also a strictly business relationship between the two men. Cranach owned a book store and a printing press together with Christian Döring (also called Goldschmied or Aurifaber). Although no books are now available with the monograms of the House of Cranach or Christian Döring, we know that Luther was their customer from his letter to Spalatin, dated July 11, 1523, and, from an oration by Joachim de Beust under the title "Oratio de vita Johannis Schneideweinii J.V.D. die 17. Sept. anno 1577."²¹ Finally, there were ideological ties which bound Luther and Cranach together even more securely. Lucas Cranach was one of the earliest and most sincere adherents of Luther, judging by the evidence of the students' riot in Wittenberg in 1520.²² The strength of these ties between the two men is proven by the fact that even in moments of great emotional strain Luther did not forget to write to Cranach, as is evident from a letter written while Luther was returning from the Diet of Worms in 1521.²³

That Cranach could have illustrated ideas of Luther in his paintings is thus a justifiable hypothesis, such was the closeness of their relationship. So far as Luther is concerned, it is well known also that Luther unlike the other reformers, Zwingli and Calvin, was not opposed

14. Hedwig Michaelson, *Lucas Cranach, Der Ältere*, Leipzig, 1902, p. 131.

15. Friedländer und Rosenberg, *op.cit.*, no. 291.

16. Michaelson, *op.cit.*, p. 106.

17. Friedrich Buchholz, *Protestantismus und Kunst in sechzehnten Jahrhundert*, Leipzig, 1928, p. 41.

18. Schuchardt, *op.cit.*, I, pp. 122, 161, and 208.

19. M. B. Lindau, *Lucas Cranach, Ein Bild aus dem Zeitalter der Reformation*, Leipzig, 1883, p. 216.

20. *ibid.*, p. 219.

21. *ibid.*, pp. 161 and 160.

22. *ibid.*, pp. 139-152. The students directed their attack ostensibly against Cranach, at that time "Stadtkämmerer," and the magistrates, who were all known as adherents of Luther. While the complete history of the riot is unclear, M. B. Lindau maintains that it was in reality a religious outbreak against Luther himself. The documents of the riot are in the State Archives at Weimar under the title "Der Studentenaufstand wider Lucas Cranach den Mahler anno 1520."

23. Dr. Martin Luthers Briefe, Sendschreiben und Bedenken, ed. by Dr. Wilhelm Martin Leberecht de Wette, Berlin, I, 1825, p. 588.

to religious art. This is evident from the eight sermons against Karlstadt and the iconoclasts which he delivered in Wittenberg on eight consecutive Sundays in 1522, and from his occasionally mentioning some popular pictures as a help in illustrating his ideas in writings and sermons.²⁴ Luther's ideas about art were similar to those of the Catholic Church, at least in so far as he regarded pictures as a means of religious education.²⁵ Cranach supplied Luther early in his career with the illustrations for the title pages of his books, such as *Ein deutsch Theologia, das ist ein edles Büchlein* (1518) and *Ein sermon von Betrachtung des Leiden Christi* (1519). He also reinforced Luther's polemics against the papacy by caricatures in the *Passional Christi und Antichristi* of 1521, and by satirical elements in his illustrations for the first edition of the *Apocalypse*, which appeared in 1522 and in which the seven-headed dragon, the Babylonian Courtesan, and the sea-monster were adorned with the pope's tiara.

An examination of Luther's relationships with other sects reveals that although at one time Luther admitted the necessity for the existence of more than one religious sect, later on he became openly opposed to the other sects of that time. This opposition was directed mainly against the Zwinglians and the Anabaptists, and especially the latter, who seemed to be gaining in popularity at that time in Germany. I believe that the pictures under discussion by Lucas Cranach were a pictorial expression of Luther's opposition to the Anabaptists. A short review of his controversy with this sect will make clear the basis for this opinion.

The Anabaptists as a group did not represent a unified religious creed and for lack of a single leader the movement branched out in different directions with different opinions on various dogmas. I cannot here go into details regarding the articles of their faith and the differences with Lutherans or the differences between their own leaders. The most important points of the Anabaptists' doctrines were those of the denial of infant baptism and the substitution of the so-called "believer's baptism." The baptism of infants was questioned by the Anabaptists on the grounds that the Bible not only did not authorize it but contained passages which discouraged it in stating that people should first be taught and then baptized. According to their interpretation the passages of Mark (16:16) and Matthew

(28:19) opposed the baptism of children. Hans Schlaffer in his book *Ein Kurzer Unterricht zum Anfang eines Recht Christlichen Lebens durch Unseren Lieben Bruder und Zeugen Jesu Christi* says: "So find man in der apostlen geschicht, da Petrus den haiden prediget, Christum verkündiget und mit der schrift bezeuget, da empfiengen alle, so das wort höreten und demselben glaubten, den heiligen geist, und nachmals wurden si erst getauft."²⁶

Similar statements about baptism of infants were expressed by Hans Hut and Balthasar Hubmaier and are contained in the records of the trial of Michael Sattler and in *Die fünf artikl des grosten streits zwischen uns und der welt*, the authorship of which is unknown, as well as in the *Schleitheim Confession of Faith*, issued on February 4, 1527, and attributed to Michael Sattler.²⁷

Since the Anabaptists did not believe in the validity of the baptism of infants, those who wanted to become members of their sect had to be baptized a second time as adults. The general practice of using second baptism as a sign of adherence was initiated by Georg Blaurock and Balthasar Hubmaier in January 1525 in Zürich at the farewell meeting which preceded the expulsion of the Anabaptists from the town.²⁸

According to the statements of the Anabaptists, it would seem that the whole question of baptism of infants can be reduced to the problem of whether we can prove that an infant has faith. Luther formulated quite an interesting solution to the problem. He stated that believing is not an intellectual process or a matter of learning and therefore if it is impossible to prove that an infant believes it is equally impossible to prove that he does not, so that no final conclusions can be drawn.²⁹ In consequence, instead of discussing the passages quoted by the Anabaptists, he dropped them entirely and quoted another passage from the Bible, giving it an interpretation in favor of the baptism of infants, namely: "Dess haben wir starke und feste Sprüche, Matth. 19 (B.13-15) Marc. 10 (B.13-16); Luca 18 (B.15-16), da etliche den Herrn Jhesu Kindlin zubrachten, dass er sie anrührete . . . Und will (er) uns in keinem Weg anders gebühren zu thun und zu glauben, so lange das Wort stehet: Last die Kindlin zu mir kommen und wehret ihnen nicht. . . . Nun ist (er in) der Taufe ja so gegenwärtig, als er dazumal war, das

24. Dr. Martin Luthers *Sämmtliche Werke*, Erlangen, XXVIII, 1840, pp. 202-252; XXIX, 1841, pp. 134-177, in "Wider die Himmlischen Propheten von den Bildern und Sacrament," of the end of 1524 and beginning of 1525.

25. Dr. Martin Luthers *Sämmtliche Werke*, Frankfurt am Main and Erlangen, V, 1865, pp. 3-4; Paul Lehfeld, *Luthers Verhältnis zu Kunst und Künstlern*, Berlin, 1892; and Christian Rogge, "Luther und die Kirchenbilder seiner Zeit," *Schriften des Vereins für Reformationgeschichte*, Leipzig, 1912.

26. Dr. Lydia Müller, *Glaubenszeugnisse oberdeutscher Taufgesinnter*, Leipzig, 1938, I, p. 93, in *Quellen und Forschungen zur Reformationgeschichte*, ed. by Verein für Reformationgeschichte, Leipzig, 1938.

27. *ibid.*, p. 15, extract from the book by Hans Hut, *Von dem geheimnis der tauf, baide des zeichens und wesens, ein anfang eines rechten wahrhaftigen christlichen lebens*; Joan: 5; Carl Sachsse, *D. Balthasar Hubmaier als Theologe*, Berlin, 1914, pp. 16, 23, and 47; Müller, *op.cit.*, p. 38, Michael

Sattler's trial; and *ibid.*, pp. 238-241, "Die fünf artikl." "Schleitheim Confession of Faith" is in John Christian Wenger, *Glimpses of Mennonite History and Doctrine*, Scottdale, Penn., 1949, pp. 206-213.

28. Leonhart Schiemer explains the second baptism in his *Die dritt epistel Leonhart Schiemers, darinnen wirt begriffen von dreyerley Tauf im Neuen Testament ganz clärlich entdeckt*: "Es sol auch kainer sagen, das er zwir getauft sei, den mit solchen worten bezeugt er, das des babstes kinsbad auch ein tauf sei." Müller, *op.cit.*, p. 79.

29. Dr. Martin Luthers *Sämmtliche Werke*, Frankfurt am Main, XXVI, 1885, p. 298, in "Von der Wiedertaufe an zwei Pfarrherrn" dated 1528. While this work explains most fully his position, Luther had previously declared the futility of discussing the question as to whether infants have faith, as for example, in his letter to Melancthon on January 17, 1522 (see Rev. B. J. Kidd, *Documents Illustrative of the Continental Reformation*, Oxford, 1911, pp. 101-102).

wissen wir Christen gewiss; darumb wir nicht thuren wehren den Kindern die Taufe. . . ."³⁰

The quotation above covers exactly the subject matter of the pictures painted by Lucas Cranach. The introduction of this subject, hitherto so rarely treated in art, just at the time of the most severe persecutions of the Anabaptists is clearly more than a coincidence, especially since it was painted by Luther's intimate friend and adherent who had already done considerable work for him in painting and book illustrations.

It seems that Martin Luther was completely satisfied with the above reference as an answer to the argument for the baptism of infants because every time this matter arose he used it without much variation. Besides "Kirchenpostille," the accurate dating of which is difficult, the same argument is used in the following additional passages:

Taufbüchlein verdeutscht, dated 1523, in connection with the ceremony of baptism.³¹

"Vom Anbeten des Sacraments des heiligen Leichnams Christi," dated 1523.³²

"Sermon am II. Sonntag nach Trinitatis," dated August 7, 1524.³³

Von der Wiedertaufe an zwei Pfarrherrn, dated 1528.³⁴

Von der kinder Tauff, und frembden glauben, dated 1529.³⁵

"Auslegung des ersten und zweiten Kapitel Johannis" in 1537 and 1538.³⁶

In each of these instances Luther supports his argument in favor of the validity of infant baptism by the same quotation from the Gospels. The dates of these arguments may be noted for later reference.

Philipp Melancthon also refers to the same quota-

tion in support of the doctrine of infant baptism.³⁷

Whether or not the use of Christ Blessing the Children as an argument in favor of infant baptism was an original invention of Luther is not germane to the present discussion.³⁸ Luther probably took this argument from the Catholic baptismal ritual because this passage had been frequently quoted as part of the baptismal ritual since the tenth century.³⁹ But regardless of who was first responsible for renewing the application of Christ Blessing the Children to the baptism of infants, it may be concluded that Luther's constant use of this passage widely influenced his contemporaries and particularly those in the circle of his immediate followers, to which Cranach belonged. The interpretation of this passage became the crux of the argument in the theological controversy over infant baptism.⁴⁰ It is therefore understandable that this theme should begin to appear frequently in painting at this time.

We may conclude, therefore, with a high degree of probability, and especially when we recall Lucas Cranach's long and intimate friendship with Luther, that Cranach's *Christ Blessing the Children* was conceived with the idea of providing support for the doctrine of baptism of infants. However, some problems of chronology remain to be discussed.

Luther's letter to Melancthon revealing his interest in the Anabaptists is dated 1522, his arguments in favor of infant baptism were first stated in the "Kirchenpostille," perhaps published in the same year, and were expressed in "Vom Anbeten des Sacraments des heiligen Leichnams Christi," certainly of 1523, yet the majority of Cranach's versions of *Christ Blessing the Children* appeared considerably later, namely after 1537. This lapse of time may throw some doubt on the supposition that Lucas Cranach was influenced by Luther in choos-

30. Dr. Martin Luthers *Sämmtliche Werke*, Frankfurt am Main, XI, 1868, pp. 66-67, in "Das Evangelium auf den dritten Sonntag nach Epiphaniä Matth. 8. (1-13)," Kirchenpostille.

31. Dr. Martin Luthers *Sämmtliche Werke*, Erlangen, XXII, 1833, p. 161.

32. *ibid.*, XXVIII, 1840, p. 416.

33. Dr. Martin Luthers *Sämmtliche Werke*, Frankfurt am Main, XVII, 1878, p. 96. The full title is "Sermon am II. Sonntag nach Trinitatis, darinnen die grossten Hauptstücke eines christlichen Lebens beschlossen sind."

34. *ibid.*, XXVI, 1885, p. 298.

35. *ibid.*, XI, 1868, pp. 66-67. It is the part of the sermon mentioned in footnote 30 which was published in the separate book form in Nürnberg by Georg Wächter with the preface by Ossiander.

36. Dr. Martin Luthers *Sämmtliche Werke*, Erlangen, XLVI, 1851, p. 115.

37. *Philippi Melanthonis Opera quae supersunt Omnia in Corpus Reformatorum*, ed. by Carolus Gottlieb Bretschneider, Halis, Saxonium, I, 1834, cols. 932 and 963, in his "Iudicium de Anabaptistis," undated, but already known in 1527, and in "Adversus Anabaptistas Phil. Mel. iudicium," dated 1528.

38. This passage must have been discussed in connection with the baptism of infants at least as early as the second century since Tertullian in expressing his opinions about infant baptism referred to the same quotation in his *De Baptismo* (Sec. xviii).

39. Wilhelm Friedrich Joh. Höfling, *Das Sacrament der Taufe*, Erlangen, 1846, I, pp. 446-449 and Gustav D. Kawerau, "Liturgische Studien zu Luthers Taufbüchlein vom

1523" in *Zeitschrift für Kirchliche Wissenschaft und Kirchliches Leben*, Leipzig, 1889, X, pp. 428-429, who quotes eleven Catholic baptismal books, from the end of the fifteenth century and the beginning of the sixteenth century, which contained this passage. This passage is no longer quoted in the Catholic baptismal order, but is still quoted in the baptismal orders of the Anglican Church and the Lutheran Churches.

40. It may be of interest to mention here other interpretations given to the passage. The sentence "Talius est regnum coelorum" or "For of such is the kingdom of heaven" was interpreted by many to mean that the word "children" in the passage did not refer to physical age but rather to people who are innocent like children because of the word "talius" or "such." Among these were Origines (Trac. VII in Matth.), St. Chrysostom (Hom. 62 in Matth.), St. Jerome (Matth. Lib. III, chap. xix), Venerable Bede (Matth. Lib. III, chap. xix), and St. Ambrose (Luc. Lib. VIII, chap. xviii). Ludolphus Carthusiensis was of the same opinion and in addition, in his *Life of Jesus* (Sec. xiii), gives the impression that he interpreted Christ's blessing of the children as an inauguration of the sacrament of confirmation rather than that of baptism.

In answer to the Lutherans and the Catholics, the Anabaptists were compelled to formulate an opinion on the subject. It is evident from a letter which Balthasar Hubmaier wrote to Oekolampadius dated January 16, 1525, describing a ceremony of the blessing of mothers and their children in the Anabaptist church during which this passage was read aloud, that they understood it merely as a reflection of Christ's love for children. See *Mennonitisches Lexicon*, ed. by Christian Hege and D. Christian Neff, Frankfurt am Main, 1937, II, p. 487.

ing this subject matter. However, if we take into consideration that this Bible passage was cited not only once but several times by Luther, and even by Melancthon, and if we consider the course of events in the history of the Anabaptist movement, it seems that Cranach's choice of this subject at the time of the constant reiteration of Luther's arguments and of the intensification of persecution against the Anabaptists is something more than a coincidence.

In 1522 no strong feelings prevailed against the Anabaptists. One of their leaders, Marcus Stübner, even lived in the house of Melancthon, and discussed with him and Luther religious problems. At that time the Anabaptist movement did not yet appear very dangerous, and Luther was very much preoccupied in 1522 with putting down the revolt of Karlstadt and the iconoclasts. However, at the outbreak of the Peasant Rebellion in 1524, one of the leading Anabaptists, Thomas Münzer, whose theories were disruptive of the social order, took sides with the peasants and gave a decisive stimulus for persecution of the Anabaptists on a larger scale.

Following this rebellious outbreak, Luther wrote a letter to Elector Friedrich and the Duke Johann of Saxony. In his letter he requested the intervention of secular authorities against the destructive methods of Münzer, yet at the same time referring to St. Paul (II Cor. 19), Luther remarked, "Denn wie ich gesagt habe, es müssen Secten seyn."⁴¹

At the same time certain measures were taken against the Anabaptists in Nürnberg. The City Council took legal action on October 31, 1524, against the painter Hans Greiffenberger, who was suspected of belonging to the sect and on January 21, 1525, such painters as Hans Platner, Sebald and Barthel Beham, as well as Jorg Pencz, a pupil of Dürer, were expelled from the town along with their Anabaptist leader, Hans Denck.⁴² In 1526 Andreas Althamer presented the City Council with three tracts written in refutation of the doctrine of the Anabaptists.⁴³

As the action against the Anabaptists grew in intensity, edicts sentencing to death all who espoused Anabaptists were issued in Switzerland in Zürich in 1526, in Germany in Strassburg in 1527, in Austria and Saxony in 1528. The imperial mandate was issued in 1528 in Spire. But still at the same time, in 1528,

Luther expressed the opinion, in the exposition of the Parable of the Good Seed and the Tares, that we are not to fight the fanatics with the sword.⁴⁴

However, gradually this attitude on the part of Luther changed. A year later, in 1530, in his exposition of 82 Psalms—when he explained the significance of secular authority—Luther accused the Anabaptists of blasphemy and asserted that their doctrines, in the intention of overthrowing all authority, were seditious and should be punished by the sword at the hands of the civil authorities.⁴⁵ In his letter to Justus Menius and Friedrich Myconius in 1530, he repeated the same statement.⁴⁶

By 1532 Luther revealed his growing fear of the consequences, if this movement should continue uncontrolled, and he expressed his concern in writing, in "Von den Schleichern und Winkelpredigern."⁴⁷

This gradual change of attitude of Lutheran reformers toward the Anabaptists parallels the growing persecutions on the part of the Catholics and the issuance of further imperial edicts, namely, in Spire in 1529, in Augsburg in 1530, and in Worms in 1535.⁴⁸

The unfortunate turn of the events in Münster, which from February 28, 1534, to June 24, 1535, was governed exclusively by Anabaptists—whose numbers were then swelled by adventurers not at all swayed by religious motives—threw another shadow on the whole group, in spite of the piety of other adherents of the sect. The opponents of Anabaptists saw in this outcome of "The New Jerusalem" in Münster a warning as to the degree of disorder and abuse that could result from too radical an interpretation and application of certain points in their doctrines.

Margrave Philipp of Hesse, who was Lutheran but always showed some lenience toward the Anabaptists, debated, by correspondence, the necessity of the death penalty. The climax of this discussion came in the answer given to Margrave Philipp by the Lutheran theologians in Strassburg, Ulm, Württemberg, Lüneburg, and Wittenberg in 1536.⁴⁹ The memorandum drawn up by Melancthon in the name of Wittenberg theologians was signed by Luther, Bugenhagen, Creutziger, and Melancthon himself. All agreed that the Anabaptists should be executed unless they recanted and repented. The memoranda from Württemberg and Lüneburg were similar in spirit.

41. Dr. Martin Luthers Briefe, Sendschreiben und Bedenken, ed. by Wilhelm Martin Leberecht de Wette, Berlin, II, 1826, p. 547. The letter was published in Wittenberg in 1524 under the title "Ein brief an die Fürsten zu Sachsen vom aufrührischen Geist." Ernst Ludwig Enders, Dr. Martin Luthers Briefwechsel, in Dr. Martin Luthers Sämmtliche Werke, ed. by J. K. Irmischer, Chr. S. Th. Elsparger, H. Schmidt and E. L. Enders, Calm-Stuttgart, IV, 1891, p. 372, mentions Lucas Cranach as the first publisher of the letter.

42. Ernest Heidrich, Dürer und die Reformation, Leipzig, 1909, p. 22.

43. *ibid.*, p. 30.

44. Dr. Martin Luthers Sämmtliche Werke, Frankfurt am Main and Erlangen, IV, 1863, p. 290, in "Predigt am fünften Sonntag nach Epiphaniä," Winterpostille.

45. Dr. Martin Luthers Sämmtliche Werke, Erlangen, XXXIX, 1846, pp. 231, 250-251.

46. Enders, *op.cit.*, VII, 1897, p. 236, "Deinde quando sunt

non solum blasphemii, sed seditiosissimi, sinite gladium in eos jure suo uti. Haec est enim voluntas Dei, ut judicium acquirat, qui potestati resistit, Rom. 13."

47. Dr. Martin Luthers Sämmtliche Werke, Erlangen, XXXI, 1842, pp. 213-226.

48. Dr. Gustav Bossert, Quellen zur Geschichte der Wiedertäufer, Herzogtum Württemberg, Leipzig, 1930, I, pp. 1-10, in Quellen und Forschungen zur Reformationsgeschichte, ed. by Verein für Reformationsgeschichte, Leipzig, 1930.

49. Paul Wappler, Die Stellung Kursachsens und des Landgrafen Philipp von Hessen zur Täuferbewegung, Münster, i.W., 1910, pp. 58-63; and Karl Wilh. Herm. Hochhuth, "Landgraf Philipp und die Wiedertäufer," in Zeitschrift für die historische Theologie, Gotha, XXVIII (N.F. XXII), 1858, Heft IV, pp. 560-590. The theologians from Ulm and Strassburg were not so radical regarding the necessity of punishment by the sword.

The persecution was still in full swing on the part of the Catholics, further imperial edicts were issued in Spires in 1544 and in Augsburg in 1551, and again in Augsburg in 1566.⁵⁰

Even the other reformers, Zwingli and Calvin, felt the necessity of expressing their opinions against the Anabaptists.⁵¹

It is true that the Anabaptists were opposed as a menace to the existing order by all major religious groups, but it is also true that their denial of baptism to infants was among the most serious objections held against them. Among the articles of their belief only the one of adult baptism was attacked in the edict of Spires in 1528. The same holds true for the edict of 1529 and the other edicts up to that of 1551, when, for the first time, disregard of authority by the Anabaptists was also denounced. Melancthon, too, in his memorandum written in 1536, pointed to refusal of infant baptism as a great offense, expressing the opinion that a division of the people into the baptized and unbaptized would be disruptive to the Christian spirit of community life.

Luther often repeated the Gospel passage on Christ Blessing the Children, so that this act became almost a symbol of the baptism of infants and was probably thus understood by contemporaries without the need of recurring commentaries. As is often the case with persecutions of this sort, it was the outward identifying sign in the practice of their rites which branded them most effectively and gave the most offense.

Reconsidering the course of events which show clearly that the persecutions grew in intensity after 1524 and reached a climax in the body of the Lutheran Church in 1536, as is shown by the memoranda drawn by the Lutheran theologians, and reconsidering that in 1537-1538 Luther himself again brought into the open this quotation from the Bible, it does not seem mere coincidence that the majority of the pictures of this subject matter were painted after 1537.⁵² We have the painting in Hamburg definitely known to be dated 1538, and we still have a record of payment of the Elector of Saxony as proof that a picture using the same

subject matter had been painted as late as 1550. This is easily understandable from the fact that the persecutions of the Anabaptists still persisted in the second half of the sixteenth century. The last imperial edict against the Anabaptists was issued in 1566. I have even found a Lutheran Baptismal Book from Pomerania, dated 1569, in which a short admonition, with a direct reference refuting the baptismal doctrine of the Anabaptists, follows the reading of the Gospel passage on Christ Blessing the Children.⁵³

Cranach remained in close contact with Luther during all this time. In 1529, which was an important year in the history of Lutheranism as Luther was working on the edition of *Marburg Articles*, *Der Grosse Katechismus*, and *Der Kleine Katechismus* summarizing his doctrine, Cranach was painting his *Fall and Redemption of Man*. This painting illustrates the Lutheran doctrine of justification by faith according to the teaching of Luther and bears inscriptions explaining this teaching.⁵⁴

As is evidenced by the payments dated 1536-1537, the castle in Torgau was renovated, and Cranach with his oldest son, Hans, took part in its decorations. Mention is made in the payment that Cranach painted two pictures, *Ascension of Christ*, *Pope Descending to Hell*, suggesting that Cranach was still supporting Luther's polemics with pictorial representations as he did at the time of the drawing of *Passional Christi und Antichristi*.⁵⁵

The paintings on the ceilings in the house of Lucas Cranach which were executed after 1537 (destroyed by fire in 1871) were adorned with quotations from the works of Luther, Bugenhagen, and Jonas.⁵⁶

Cranach continued to provide Luther with illustrative material whenever the occasion demanded. For example, in 1545 he provided Luther's writing *Wider das Papstthum zu Rom, vom Teufel gestiftet* with a woodcut for the title page representing the Pope on the throne of hell. Ten more woodcuts along the same line were executed by Cranach a few months later as a satire on the Pope and the papists.⁵⁷ In the letter written by Luther to Amsdorf in 1545 there is a proof of

50. Bossert, *op.cit.*

51. In his *Vom dem Touff, vom Widdertouff und vom Kindertouff* (1525), Zwingli referred to the same passage as Luther and quoted all three Gospels as proof of the validity of infant baptism. Rudolf Pfister, *Zwingli, der Theologe*, in *Zwingli Hauptschriften*, ed. by Fritz Blanke, Oskar Farnet, Rudolf Pfister, Zürich, 1948, III pt, p. 111.

Calvin participated in the public discussion in Geneva in 1537, as a result of which discussion the Anabaptists were expelled from the town. See *Joannis Calvini opera quae supersunt omnia*, ed. Guilielmus Baum, Eduardus Cunitz, Eduardus Reuss, Brunsvigae, XXI, 1879, cal. 210 in *Corpus Reformatorum*. Later, in 1544, Calvin formulated his point of view in a writing "Briève instruction, pour armer tous bons fidèles contra les erreurs de la secte commune des Anabaptists."

52. See note 36.

53. Höfling, *op.cit.*, II, p. 78. The admonition reads "Zum Dritten, dass wir hier unseres Herrn J. Christi ausdrücklichen, klaren Befehl haben: 'Lasset die Kinder zu mir kommen und wehret ihnen nicht.' Dazu wird der Herr unwillig über die Jünger, die aus Unglauben die Leute bedrohten, die die Kinder zu Jesu brachten, gleichwie die Wiedertäufer sich an der

Kindertaufe ärgern und unnöthig achten, dass man die jungen Kinder durch die Taufe zu Christo bringe. Dagegen haben wir das klare Gebot unseres Herrn J. Christi, dass man die Kinder zu ihm bringe, und alle Menschen auf seinem Namen taufen soll Marci im 16ten Capitel."

54. There is a painting in the Prague museum, executed by Cranach in 1529, reproduced in Ernest Grohne, "Die Bremischen Truhen mit reformatorischen Darstellungen und der Ursprung ihrer Motive" in *Schriften der Bremer Wissenschaftlichen Gesellschaft*, Reihe D., Bremen, 1936, fig. 4; and another one by Cranach, painted in the same year, of a similar subject but of a different composition, in the Gotha museum, reproduced in Friedländer and Rosenberg, *op.cit.*, no. 183. Various derivatives from these two types are discussed by Grohne, *op.cit.*, and by Karl Ernest Meier in "Fortleben der religiös dogmatischen Kompositionen Cranachs in der Kunst des Protestantismus" in *Repertorium für Kunstwissenschaft*, Berlin, 1909, p. 4.

55. Lindau, *op.cit.*, p. 283.

56. *ibid.*, p. 306.

57. Lehfeld, *op.cit.*, p. 67.

how deeply interested he was in the outcome of these illustrations; he even criticized Cranach for being too harsh.⁵⁸

In the light of this evidence it seems that the enthusiastic revival of the theme of Christ Blessing the Children after a period of almost total oblivion and the painter's close association with Luther are not unrelated; and if not Luther himself, then certainly the many discussions relative to the controversial belief of the Anabaptists inspired the use of this theme.

[UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO]

A POSSIBLE REVISION IN BLAKE'S JERUSALEM

KARL KIRALIS

In his highly perceptive study, *Blake's Illustrations to the Divine Comedy*, Albert S. Roe is perplexed by the fact that the first design to the *Paradiso*, "Dante Adoring Christ," is numbered "97." Admittedly puzzled, Roe tentatively suggests that the design may have been "the ninety-seventh sheet as the pages were originally arranged," or that the number may refer to a line of Cary's translation, which appeared in 1814 and was therefore accessible to Blake.¹ I propose that this design was originally intended to be the ninety-seventh illustration to Blake's *Jerusalem*, his last major written work.

Roe's explanation is weak because only one other plate (or possibly two) is similarly numbered by Blake;² all other numbers refer to specific cantos and never to single lines. My suggestion is supported by the following facts. The dates offer no difficulty: *Illustrations to the Divine Comedy* was begun in the autumn of 1824 and was not completed at the time of Blake's death in 1827; and *Jerusalem* was written between 1804 and 1820. All of the plates of *Jerusalem* are numbered in the top right corner and in a style similar to the number on the design in question. The written text of *Jerusalem's* plate 96 would quite aptly precede this depiction of the adoration of Jesus, who stands in the cruciform position even though no cross is apparent. The whole text of 96 should be consulted but the following passages should offer sufficient evidence:

Then Jesus appeared standing by Albion as the
Good Shepherd

By the lost Sheep that he hath found, & Albion knew
that it

Was the Lord, the Universal Humanity; & Albion
saw his Form

A Man, & they conversed as Man with Man in
Ages of Eternity. (96:3-6)

Jesus said: "Wouldest thou love one who never died
"For thee, or ever die for one who had not died for
thee?"

"And if God dieth not for Man & giveth not himself
"Eternally for Man, Man could not exist; for Man
is Love

"As God is Love: every kindness to another is a little
Death

"In the Divine Image, nor can Man exist but by
Brotherhood." (96:23-28)

That Blake practiced illustrating the text immediately preceding is substantiated by the facts that plate 100 pictures the renewal of Man's cycle from earthly to eternal existence described in plate 99; 89 shows Enitharmon, the poet's wife, attempting to remove the poet's laurel crown as she would do if her efforts at controlling the poet in 86-88 had succeeded; 69 illustrates the fiendish dance of female deluding forces around their victim as elaborated in 67-68; and 63 is the depiction of the suffering Jerusalem described in 60-62.³

Next arises the more important problem of why Blake did not use this design, "97," in *Jerusalem*. First of all he either already had on hand or later designed another portrayal of the crucifixion, the well known plate 76 of *Jerusalem*. To repeat himself with "97" would of course reduce the artistic effectiveness of the work and injure its organizational plan since then the introductory aspect of plate 76 would be clouded. Instead Blake substituted the present 97 of *Jerusalem*, the design for which he had done earlier,⁴ as a contrast to the frontispiece. Plate 1 shows the poet, fully clothed since he is not purified, entering into the darkness with his "globe of fire" as he begins his analysis of Man's passage through eternal death to eternity. In the course of the epic to plate 97, Man has learned his lesson of love, self-sacrifice, and mutual forgiveness as the result of the divine teachings of the also purified poet. Thus

of the only colored copy of *Jerusalem* as standard, 39 may illustrate 38, but the question of the arrangement of the plates of Chapter Two is by no means settled. Joseph Wicksteed in his commentary on *Jerusalem* is the first even to attempt an explanation of Blake's changes in this chapter. *William Blake's Jerusalem*, London, 1954. See pp. 159-160, 171-172, 182, 189, 203-205.

4. S. Foster Damon notes that "with the exception of the position of the left hand, this figure is repeated from page 6 of the water colours illustrating Young's *Night Thoughts*. It recalls forcibly Blake's letter to Butts (22nd Nov. 1802): 'I have conquered and shall go on conquering. Nothing can withstand the fury of my course among the stars of God and in the abysses of the Accuser.'" *William Blake: His Philosophy and Symbols*, New York, 1924, reprinted 1947, pp. 474-475.

58. *ibid.*, pp. 68-70.

1. Princeton, 1953, p. 178.

2. The present 54 is labeled "95" in the top left corner. If label "95" and "97" represent the original order, Blake's conception of Hell must have been much expanded, since "95" is now numbered 54 and "97" is 90. Plate 45 has in its upper right corner what is probably the number "87." Roe suggests that this "87" might have originally been intended to be in the place of the present 87 (p. 101). The present number 6 of the *Divine Comedy* is the only other formally numbered illustration, but here the number "6" is of a completely different type and is barely visible in both lower corners.

3. Plate 8 may also illustrate Vala's punishment of Luvah, which occurs in pl. 7: lines 30-39. Considering the numbering

in the illustration to 97, light is replacing darkness with the sunrise of eternity, and the poet, still with his burning globe, is no longer clothed except with a slight, transparent garment. It is Blake's common practice in *Jerusalem* to indicate spiritual beauty by nudity.⁵

Admittedly my suggestion that the design of plate 90 of the *Divine Comedy* was originally conceived to be that of plate 97 of *Jerusalem* is not definitely proved by the similarity of the numbering in style and in location, the logic of the design's former position in the text, and Blake's practice of illustrating the immediately preceding text, but certainly I have shown this to be a strong possibility. It is in the consideration of the reason for Blake's possible revision that a better understanding

of *Jerusalem* is attained, for the change would provide further evidence of Blake's careful planning of the work. That is, he did not allow to be impaired his essential organization into four distinct parts—addressed respectively to the Public, the Jews, the Deists, the Christians—so that his purpose of analyzing Man's passage through eternal death would remain clear. Moreover, to help indicate to his reader that this passage is nearly complete by plate 97, he invites comparison of the clothed poet entering the darkness of death with the practically nude poet entering and continuing to bring the light of eternity.

ST. LAWRENCE UNIVERSITY

5. To cite but one of many examples: in pl. 94 Man asleep on his rock of materialism is clothed, but awakened in 95 he

arises nude leaving his clothed figure behind him.

BOOK REVIEWS

ERWIN PANOFSKY, *Early Netherlandish Painting, Its Origin and Character*, Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1953. 2 vols. Pp. 610; 362 pls. \$35.00.

Erwin Panofsky's new book is the monumental accomplishment of a scholar who for a long time has occupied a leading position among students of the history of art. It is also a contribution to our knowledge in which all the members of this discipline may well take pride. The book makes no concessions for the benefit of the uninformed; yet such is the author's well-known gift for writing vividly and entertainingly that many who have little concern for the intricacies of the historical problems dealt with will be fascinated and delighted with its text. And while it is, with its 562 illustrations—most of them excellent—the richest pictorial compendium in handbook form of the fields covered (almost deserving praise for *not* including any of the lately "obligatory" color-plates), the emphasis is very decidedly on the text. There are 358 pages of text and 150 pages of notes in double columns and small print, but I can truthfully say that I have not found a single dull one among them.

Much of the charm of the book is due to the lightness with which its author carries and presents his vast erudition. Whether he quotes from Aelfric the Grammarian, Leibniz, Spinoza, Henry James, or Bertrand Russell, or traces the theme of Roman Charity in one breathtaking sentence from Pliny to Maupassant and Steinbeck, he does it with such grace and aptness that we take it as the natural expression of a mind at home in many fields and partaking of many cultural traditions. He also can present complex problems so that they become "translucent," as it were, enabling him occasionally to find completely novel solutions. If I were to choose a motto for the whole work from the author's own text I would take this sentence: "There is, I am afraid, no other answer to this problem than the use of historical methods tempered, if possible, by common sense." It is precisely this application of common sense, often expressed in a neat and witty phrase, which yields some of the finest results. It is Panofsky's common sense which permits him to accept Renders' theory that the *maitre Roger* of 1426 was a different person from the *Rogelet* of 1427 and to render it harmless by suggesting that the first rather than the second person was an unknown namesake. He can dispose of an uncritical or redundant writer in a devastatingly funny way as when he confesses to an inability to understand a recent German book on Hubert van Eyck "except for the dates which are printed in Arabic numerals; these are certainly wrong." Yet, while the use of sarcasm and of the pointed barb is not unknown to the author (see for instance note 15^a and his hilarious refutation of Brockwell's recent Arnolfini book), he is also exceedingly generous in giving credit to other scholars. Few authors acknowledge as scrupulously

even casual conversational suggestions made by third parties.

No scholarly work of the aims and the dimensions of *Early Netherlandish Painting* could be accomplished without the vast body of writing preceding it. It is difficult to say what is more impressive in Panofsky's relation to previous literature: his almost incredible familiarity with the discouragingly large number of books and articles written on his theme, or his ability to see the great lines and the major problems clearly without getting lost in the tangle of conflicting opinions. The strictly art-historical sources have been listed in a double-column bibliography of over seventeen pages. The conscientious reader will be rewarded by a still larger number of titles scattered generously through the notes. They lead to literature published in remote places and to works which the historian of art does not normally know and would have difficulty finding. The notes are arranged in the back, in strict accordance with the pages of the text to which they belong. Next to the system—apparently old-fashioned though in my opinion still the best—of having the notes directly below the text, this is probably the most satisfactory arrangement.

That one of the chief attractions of a book by Panofsky is the light thrown on iconographic problems is only natural. Most of the articles which he himself had previously published on Flemish art, such as those on the Arnolfini portrait, the *Friedsam Annunciation*, the Seven Sacrament Altar, and the "Timotheus"-portrait, were primarily "studies in iconology." Besides the clarification of the meaning of individual pictures, the reader finds, often in the modest form of a long note, masterly sketches on the iconographic tradition of special themes such as the Adoration of the Newborn Christ-child (note 46^a), the *Noli Me Tangere* (note 20^a), the Lamentation (p. 23), Christ Appearing to His Mother (p. 262), the Holy Kinship (note 327^a), the Weighing of Souls (pp. 271-272). The different meanings of Ox and Ass in Nativities (note 278^a), the *Ostentatio Vulnerum* (note 124^a), the symbolism of colors and of flowers (note 146^a), the laws of heraldry as applied to portraiture (note 294^a), and last but not least, the altogether delightful demonstration of how an ardent lover may appear in the guise of a stallion (note 349^a), are some of the little gems which grace the main offering. There are, furthermore, many instances where the author has given for the first time correct readings or novel interpretations of inscriptions on paintings (note 146^a: the words on the copy of Jan van Eyck's *Madonna at the Fountain* in New York; note 206^a: the *quatrain* on the Ghent altar; note 215^a: another text on the altar; note 260^a: the inscriptions on Rogier's Granada-altar; note 283^a: the inscriptions on Rogier's Seven Sacrament Altar; note 304^a: the words on Konrad Laib's Vienna Calvary) and of documentary texts (note 178^a: the document about "Jan van Tricht"; note 192^a: the will of Sir

Anselm Adornes; note 265²: a passage from Dubuisson-Aubenay's *Itinerarium Belgicum*).

All this is only what one has come to expect from books by Panofsky. It is perhaps more important to point out that in *Early Netherlandish Painting* more than in any of his previous works, even including the *Dürer*, Panofsky enters the fields of stylistic criticism and connoisseurship, and that he does it highly successfully. This reviewer, at least, subscribes to many of Panofsky's critical pronouncements, with relatively few objections or reservations. I am well pleased to find myself on the same side of the critical fence with regard to such pictures, to mention but a few examples in American collections, as the so-called Petrus Christus (*Death of the Virgin*) in the Kress Foundation, a picture which was probably painted by an unknown Fleming active in Italy, where the theme of St. Thomas receiving the Cintola was far more common than in the North. I share Panofsky's doubts with regard to the Detroit *St. Jerome and the Lion* (attributed to Rogier), the evidently repainted portrait of a *Man with Turban* (Metropolitan Museum, Bache Collection), which might be by Jacques Daret, and the two portraits of monks (Providence, and New York, both attributed to Hugo van der Goes). It stands to reason that with so many works involved, there will be differences of opinion; yet to those critics who tend to think that "iconologists" have little interest in, and less talent for, questions of authenticity and attribution, this book must come as something of a shock. Panofsky's batting average, it seems to me, might well be envied by "professional" connoisseurs.

I wanted to stress some of the aspects which make the appearance of Panofsky's book such an important event for the student of early Netherlandish art, since there is always the danger that a reviewer's adverse criticisms may take on an importance out of all proportion to their significance. It has been my aim to voice some critical comments while trying at the same time to give a conscientious account of the main theses of the book. I should like to have it understood that for any one point of disagreement there are many others in which I have either always agreed with Panofsky or have changed from previously held theories to accept those proposed by him. Most of my objections, indeed, are in the nature of questions where it seems to me that statements are not as conclusive as they might appear at first sight. In a few cases I should like to raise questions of principle, in some others I disagree with specific views. Finally, I shall make a few very minor additions.

What distinguishes this book from previous works on Flemish art is first of all its chronological scope. This is particularly striking in a comparison with Friedländer's *Altniederländische Malerei*, which begins with the van Eycks and carries the reader through Bruegel, following a pattern which with minor variations was adopted also by Fierens-Gevaert, Heidrich, Burger, Conway, Winkler, Schöne, Van Puyvelde and others. Panofsky starts a full century before the van Eycks but ends with the artists active around 1500. Thus he gives strong support to the thesis that the origin and develop-

ment of the art of the great Flemish painters cannot be properly understood unless they are seen in their relationship to the trends and achievements of the artists of the fourteenth century, especially those active in book-illumination. This, admittedly, is not a novel thesis. It is probably Dvořák's merit to have stressed this point of view more emphatically than others, but authors like Vitzthum, Hulin de Loo, Winkler, Bella Martens, Tolnay, Paecht, and recently Baldass, in his book on Jan van Eyck, have contributed important studies on individual problems. Much material has been made accessible by the specialists in late mediaeval Northern book-illumination, such as Vogelsang, Durrieu, Byvanck and Hoogewerff, Winkler, Leroquais, Martin, and Lyna. Panofsky's is the first book, however, in which an attempt has been made to give a coherent and detailed history of Franco-Flemish, Flemish, and Dutch book-illumination before the Eyckian period together with a thorough treatment of the great masters of panel painting themselves. While he still calls them "the Founders," they appear in this perspective as the crowning achievement in a long and distinguished tradition. What came after them takes for Panofsky the form of an "Epilogue" which still is full of fascinating observations but in which the author clearly proceeds eclectically and, except for the sections on Geertgen, Goes, and the archaism of around 1500, with flagging interest. He ends his book with one page on Bosch, for the understanding of whose work, he feels, no workable key has as yet been found. Yet, while he disarms the reader with a charming apology borrowed from a sixteenth century German translator of Marsilio Ficino, it is obvious that this is but a graceful way of bowing out at the historical moment when the point of gravitation within his system of post-mediaeval development shifts elsewhere. The achievements of the great Netherlandish artists, if I understand the author correctly, consisted in a transformation of traditional methods of work by application of rational principles, in technical procedures, in the rendering of nature, and even in the expression of spiritual concepts in terms of visible things. It is evident that Bosch does not fit too well into this pattern, while the artist to whom Panofsky throughout his career has given more sympathetic study than to anyone else, Albrecht Dürer, brings all these trends to a splendid and above all consciously realized fruition. Thus, Panofsky's new book is something like a grandiose prologue to his monograph on Dürer, who, as he recalls in his first paragraph, was to Vasari a member of the "Flemish" school.

Thus there is a certain logic in the fact that Panofsky begins *Early Netherlandish Painting* with a chapter on perspective. We meet in it many of the ideas which he had expressed once before in his memorable article, "Die Perspektive als symbolische Form" (*Vorträge der Bibliothek Warburg*, 1924-1925). He formulates again the aspects of conception and rendering of space of the ancients, the Middle Ages, and the Renaissance, distinguishing emphatically between the Italian and the Northern concepts. Both share, according to him, the notion, unknown to antiquity, that space is three-dimensional, continuous, and infinite, and both hence

developed what the ancients never arrived at, a consistent system of perspective. There was this distinction, though, that the Italians used perspective to "keep the beholder at a respectful distance" while the Northern artists aimed at "admitting him to the closest intimacy." Similarly, light as conceived by the Italians is "quantitative and isolating" while with the transalpine painters it is "qualitative and connective." Rooms with the former are "complete and closed units" while with the latter they are a "slice of infinity." The pointed, nearly epigrammatic formulations, preferably in terms of opposing pairs of concepts for which Panofsky shows such great partiality, have here, as elsewhere, some of the faults of their virtues. While there are always pertinent and illuminating observations at their base, they tend to disengage themselves from reality. Occasionally one begins to suspect irreverently that what one watches with such intense intellectual delight is not so much the clashing of real historical forces and ideas as the nimble, and quite unbloody, sparring of dialectical hobby-horses. Objections, indeed, are easily raised. When Panofsky says that Jan van Eyck's pictures "extend to the very tips of our shoes" it should be remembered that in most cases a full-sized beholder would have to walk through the looking glass before getting the full benefit of his supposed inclusion in the picture-space. Conversely, while Adam and Eve in the Ghent Altar are quite isolated attempts at illusionism in painting in the North, it is in Italy that the inclusion of the beholder by perspectival means was methodically developed. In a later chapter the author draws a parallel between the Master of Flémalle on the one hand and Cézanne and van Gogh on the other. The first "strove to affirm perspective space while still committed to a decorative interpretation of the plane surface" while the later artists "wished to affirm the plane surface while still committed to a perspective interpretation of space"—thus arriving "from a diametrically opposite point of view and with diametrically opposite intentions" at a similar effect. Leaving aside the question of whether Cézanne or van Gogh really wished to affirm the plane surface, or wherein exactly the similarity of effects consists, one might ask whether the conflict in the Master of Flémalle's works between surface tension and perspective construction is really indicative of a conflict between an element of tradition and one of progress. The surface tension, which is surely a characteristic feature of the works of the Master of Flémalle, does not seem to me an archaic element, and unless I have overlooked such a passage, Panofsky does not stress it in previous Northern artists. However, Konrad Witz, surely no *retardataire*, "intensified," as the author himself puts it, "the tension between space relations and surface relations," and he even notes "a terrific tension . . . between three-dimensional and two-dimensional form" in Hugo van der Goes. If we mean the same thing by "surface tensions" I find them also in Geertgen, particularly in one of his last works, the *Man of Sorrows*, and decidedly in many works of Bosch. Thus one might almost argue that it was just the cohesion of all the elements of design in a tight surface pattern which was a novel and progressive aspect of the works

of the Master of Flémalle, guaranteeing them a measure of unity which is absent from the loose patterns and the perspective "Spielereien" of, say, Melchior Broederlam. Perhaps, then, some of the significance of "perspective" as the symbol of progress in Northern art could be sacrificed.

While paying tribute to the Northern artists' "worshipful respect for the particular" and briefly calling attention to nominalist philosophy (to which on a later occasion he seems to give credit also for the origin of portraiture), Panofsky concerns himself in this first chapter primarily with the problem of the rendering of space. Early Christian, Byzantine, Romanesque, and Gothic art contributed each in a special way to the transformation of the classical "composite and finite" space into the "continuous and infinite" space of the fifteenth century. In Panofsky's interpretation the whole development takes on a teleological character, each change being made in accordance with a pre-ordained plan, or obeying a hidden law which providentially guided the artists in the right direction. The first step had to be an optical unification of patterns (Early Christian contribution), followed by the "constitutability" (material homogeneousness) of all corporeal and extracorporeal elements (Romanesque). During the Gothic period individual parts and figures were "liberated" together with "corresponding volumes of enveloping space," though the style as a whole remained still "nonperspective."

In the early Trecento the leadership was taken over by Italy, which in the author's "paradoxical" formulation was qualified for this role precisely because it had until then been behind in the general development. Some of the credit, according to Panofsky, should be given to the cultivation in Italy of "traditional" techniques of painting, this being a somewhat debatable point since at least one of the techniques mentioned—fresco-painting—was, as far as I know, a rather "modern" technique at that time. It was the Tuscan artists, at any rate, who "pooling the resources" of French Gothic and Byzantine art pushed on towards new solutions of spatial problems, creating what the author happily calls the "interior by implication" and who introduced a new affective attitude which made for a number of striking iconographic innovations. Panofsky goes on to sketch the absorption of the new ideas by Northern schools, stressing rightly the fact that these ideas would have penetrated beyond the Alps even without the benefit of the Babylonian Exile of the Popes. It might be worth while, however, to ponder the question of whether the Italian influence would have had the same strong Siennese flavor if Siennese art had not held such a powerful beachhead in southern France.

The section on the European diffusion of Italian Trecento art marks the beginning of the chapter on French and Franco-Flemish book-illumination in the fourteenth century. In this field, which had had a long tradition of great accomplishments behind it, the new ideas were most readily assimilated. Panofsky makes an excellent appraisal of the nature and significance of the Book of Hours, which, as the most characteristic

innovation in religious literature, was destined to play such an important role in this development. It was "an accepted symbol of wealth and position." The many new secular books are also connected with the interests of a "mundane society." This is one of the few places where the author acknowledges a connection between social situations and artistic creations. Yet, when speaking of the gradual decline of the illuminated book in the fifteenth century and its virtual disappearance in the sixteenth, he no longer makes reference to social factors. Book-illumination began to commit suicide, as he puts it charmingly, when it began to imitate real pictures and in doing so took "an overdose of perspective." While it is surely too crude to say that printing killed book-illumination, it would seem likely that it was again social and intellectual forces which worked against the continued production of books as symbols of wealth and position and favored the "invention" and the rapid development of printing. Woodcuts and engravings, at any rate, as the media suited for the illustration of printed books, were able to absorb vast quantities of perspective without any ill effects.

With this chapter on book-illumination, Panofsky begins to tell the story of painting in the Netherlands in a chronological sequence, interrupting it only once with a chapter of purely iconographic nature. He sees the development as a brilliant procession of great masters. The first artist thus singled out is Jean Pucelle, who was active in Paris and who was the first Northern "to give his figures a coherent perspective setting" in his lovely *Book of Hours of Jeanne d'Evreux* of 1325-1328 (which has recently become the property of the Metropolitan Museum of New York). Pucelle combines Sienese and English influences (the latter most noticeable in his "bas de page" strips and marginal decorations). In the calendar of the *Belleville Breviary* he paid attention to "the changing aspects of nature" and thus began a Northern tradition which led to the Brothers Limbourg and eventually to Bruegel.

Second in the chain of great masters is Jean Bondol, a Fleming from Bruges, active in Paris between 1368 and 1381 and thus the first "Franco-Flemish" artist in Panofsky's use of this term. While it was Pucelle who had used what the author calls the "doll's house" setting, it was Bondol who introduced the "interior by implication" into Northern art. Panofsky speaks of him with real affection, as if he felt some sympathetic chord with a master who—a "perceptive immigrant"—broadened his own heritage, a Flemish "emphasis on reality and character, at times verging upon caricature" by absorbing the "elegant draughtsmanship" and the international connections of his new environment. Bondol's only authenticated work is the *Bible Historiale* of 1371 at The Hague but his name is connected with a large number of manuscripts and with one of the most amazing works of monumental decoration of the whole fourteenth century, the "160 yards of Apocalypse" for Louis of Anjou, executed by request—a historically interesting case—on the basis of one or more manuscripts of much earlier date.

Bondol was the first of a group of major artists ac-

tive in the last third of the fourteenth century, though a good deal of conjecture is needed to connect existing works with recorded names. André Beauneveu, the sculptor, becomes tangible as a miniaturist through a series of 24 apostles and prophets in a Psalter of ca. 1380-1385; the unknown Master of the *Parent de Narbonne* contributed to the ill-fated *Très Belles Heures de Notre Dame* of about 1385-1390; the major figure, however, seems to have been Jacquemart de Hesdin, who was involved in four of the most important manuscripts of the period, though his part in each is by no means certain. Besides these, there were other painters of marked originality, one of whom contributed a series of profoundly emotional Passion scenes to the *Petites Heures*, the earliest work in the group, while another highly sophisticated artist was the author of the "first" dedication picture of the Brussels *Hours*. In all the works of these masters, as in those of such contemporaries as Theodoric of Prague and Master Bertram of Minden, Panofsky sees a "reaction against the senescent High Gothic style" expressing itself in a general tendency to give to the figures greater mass and solidity; historically, he connects this movement with a new "joie de vivre" appearing after the Black Death. If this were indeed so—or at least exclusively so—Northern art would surely differ profoundly from Italian which, as Meiss has recently shown, reacted quite differently at the end of the dread curse. There is no doubt that these artists applied more modeling to their figures and thought more in spatial terms. Yet there are other aspects which should not be overlooked. Panofsky himself mentions the strong influence on iconography of such mystic writers as St. Birgitta (p. 46), and the Master of the Passion-scenes is surely more interested in spiritual excitement than physical presence. It is true that there is a renewed and striking adaptation of Italian models (though the author goes too far in saying that the Bearing of the Cross of the Brussels *Hours* is "directly copied" from Simone Martini); yet these models are chosen not from the "sturdy" art of Giotto but, as Panofsky himself stresses (p. 63), from the more willowy and decorative art of the Sienese. And while it is also true, for instance, that the master of the first dedication page of the Brussels *Hours* shows the Duc de Berry on the same scale as the Saints and the Virgin, and makes use of perspective in his floor-patterns, one could also point out that these floor-patterns are so minute that they resemble the traditional tessellated backgrounds, or even floors like those of the Monreale mosaics, more than those of Ambrogio Lorenzetti; that the figures float rather than stand on it; and that the beautiful Virgin of the right half rises before us in uncommunicative austerity reminiscent of Byzantine Madonnas. (The left half of this page, incidentally, has a blue floral pattern as background, not "red Seraphim," while the right half is filled with Seraphim in full figure, not only heads, who sing, play musical instruments, or kneel in adoration.)

Panofsky's discussion of the art of this period is of interest not only because of the monuments themselves but also because the people for whom these works were



1. J. Provost. *Madonna in Church*
Formerly New York, Schaeffer Galleries



2. Unknown master. *The Temptation of St. Anthony*. Escorial



3. Follower of Master of Flémalle. *Virgin*
Museum, Donai



4a. Crucifixion



b. Ghent Altar



5a. Crucifixion



b. Ghent Altar



6a. Crucifixion



b. Ghent Altar



7a. Ghent Altar

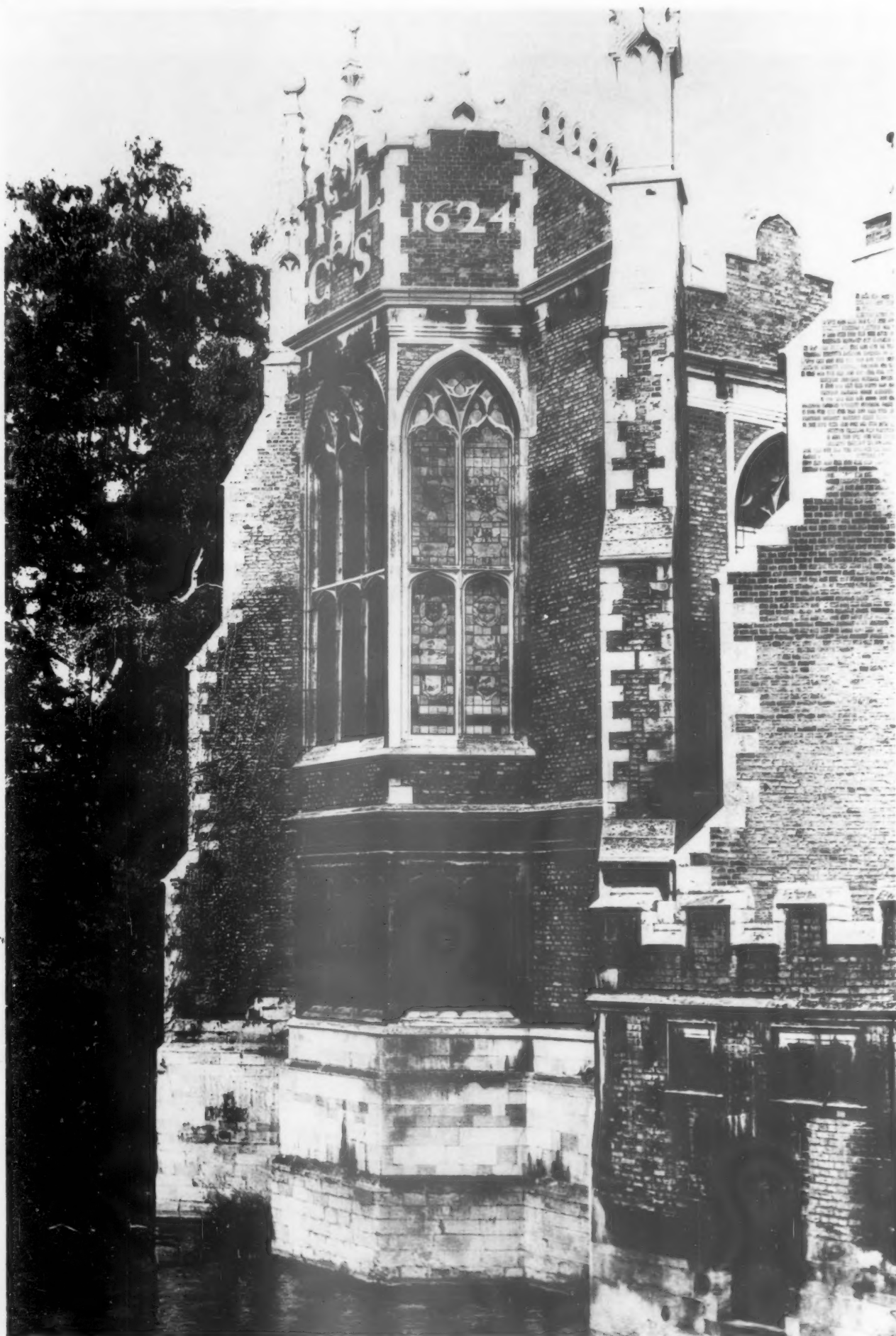


b. Crucifixion



c. Ghent Altar

4-7. Hubert van Eyck? Details from Ghent Altar (Ghent Cathedral) and Diptych (New York, Metropolitan Museum)



1. Cambridge, St. John's College, The Library. 1624 (photo: E. S. B. Elcome)

fashioned were a colorful group. Of several of them there are amusing thumbnail sketches. The biography of the greatest patron of the age, the Duc de Berry, ends thus: "cautious, cultured and personally affable, he managed to survive his two wives, all his brothers, all his sons, several of his nephews and died in 1416 . . . leaving behind him an equally enormous amount of possessions and debts." That of the Maréchal de Boucicaut begins by calling him "dreaded duelist, insuperable horseman and tennis player, adventurous, proud, chivalrous . . . kindly and just and—by the standards of this time—unselfish."

This passage on the French nobleman is found in chapter II, which deals with the early fifteenth century and the "International Style." After discussing briefly the situation in Paris at the turn of the century (where the Master of the *Livre de Chasse*, despite his wonderful observations of animals is termed "a trifle retardataire" mainly because he lacked spatial interests, while the Flemish (?) master of the Boccaccio of 1402, who had them, brought "decisive progress"), Panofsky turns to the main figure in Paris, "the most brilliant genius of pre-Eyckian painting" and "the greatest single force that operated on Jan van Eyck's mind and formed his style," the Master of the *Hours of the Maréchal de Boucicaut*. Although "obsessed with heraldry" and thus not free of "anti-naturalistic" inclinations, this great master "discovered aerial perspective," used chiaroscuro effects in the rendering of architectural interiors, employed eccentric perspectives, and introduced the motif of the diaphragm arch, a framing device which functioned both as a *repoussoir* and as a cover for the strategic area where most of the orthogonals would meet the margins. (This device later found its most brilliant development in Rogier, whose composition of the *Adoration of the Magi* in Munich, so it seems to me, may have been derived from that of the Boucicaut Master.)

The various parts of the *œuvre* of this "prophet of a specifically northern mode of expression" are dated by the author between 1400 and 1412; thus it immediately precedes and partly overlaps the period of productivity of the second great workshop of the "International Style," that of the Limbourg Brothers. These truly international artists, serving alternatively the princes of Burgundy and the Duc de Berry, may even have had first-hand knowledge of Italy. Their output was not confined to book-illumination, if the very plausible attribution to them or their circle of the Louvre portrait of Jean sans Peur (as a "replica") and of the lady in the National Gallery at Washington is indeed correct. The sources of their art—which, for the first time among Northern artists, include Florentine Trecento painting—have been discussed frequently, though we still miss a systematic treatment of the problem. Much interesting material had been presented by Otto Pächt ("Early Italian Nature Studies and the Early Calendar Landscape," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, XIII, 1950, pp. 13f.) and in the light of this article some of Panofsky's statements would seem to need modification. When, for instance, he calls the February miniature in Chan-

tilly the first snow landscape in all painting it should be pointed out that there is a rather extensive snow scene in the January fresco of the *Torre Aquila* in Trento (which must have been executed before 1407) and that snowfall appears before in the Paris *Tacuinum Sanitatis* of ca. 1380-1390. (Far Eastern art knows snow landscape even before that date.) The genesis of the famous Calendar scenes of the Chantilly *Hours*, according to Pächt, is more closely linked with Italian art and literature than would appear from Panofsky's text. In pointing to Italian sources of Northern art in this period, Panofsky seems to emphasize Florentine and Sienese painting more than that of Lombardy. Yet North Italian Trecento painting was surely of the greatest significance. The apparition of the Magi from a deep gorge in the Berlin drawing of Eyckian character (see also below) which Panofsky says is "as original as it is 'modern'" actually comes straight out of Altichiero's *Adoration of the Shepherds* in San Giorgio in Padua. The fragile Gothic architecture in the works of the Limbourg Brothers may have been influenced by the same artistic circle. (Panofsky does refer to North Italian connections in a note about the Boucicaut Master.)

The chapter on this style continues with a most interesting discussion of the social background of the art of this period. Starting from the manifest distinction in the Calendar pages between the farmers and shepherds "who suffer all the cold and do all the work" and the nobles who do "all the feasting, hunting, and love-making," Panofsky tries to explain the trend towards sophistication and exaggerated elegance in style and in actual fashion by borrowing the concepts, and even the terminology, of modern psychology and economic theory. He believes that the "conspicuous waste" visible in these works was caused by the desire of the remnants of feudal aristocracy to assert itself against the social aggressiveness of a proto-capitalist class of merchants and financiers. He speaks of a "defense mechanism" which led to social overstatement, and he even formulates what sounds like a socio-economic law: "Unusual extravagances in manner and fashion tend to occur whenever the ruling class of an aging society begins to feel the competition of younger forces rising against it." According to him, the concern with the lower classes and the *genre rustique*, found in poetry as well as in art, including the new importance given to Joseph as a representative of the little people, are signs of aristocratic "over-compensation." These theories are presented very persuasively and with many striking allusions and parallels. Yet, since the conflict between feudal society and the rising middle classes was after all a process of long duration, we may ask why it was just in the years of about 1380-1420 that the situation became so "critical" as to produce these effects in art, and whether there were corresponding changes in the sphere of social conflicts when the "International Style" gave way to a new trend. Arguments of this kind tend to lose some of their force in a book where they are introduced only rarely and where all the evidence is derived from the works of art alone. Only once does the author return

to the problem of the reflection of the social scene in art, when he says of Rogier's portraits that their typically withdrawn and haughty air and "delicate sparseness" result from the "ideals and conventions of a society to which the majority of his clients belonged." He contrasts these portraits in the same paragraph with those by Jan van Eyck, yet the social group for whom the *varlet de chambre* of John of Bavaria and of Philip the Good worked was after all pretty much the same as that of Rogier's. Moreover, the court society which patronized both Jan van Eyck and Rogier does not seem to have been caught in the "inflationary spiral of social overstatement" and we are therefore wondering whether it no longer shared the ambitions and the outlook of the courts from the beginning of the century.

I found the last section on the International style particularly stimulating and thought-provoking. Panofsky notices, besides its showy worldliness, what he calls the "nocturnal aspect" of the International style—or, with a still happier phrase, the *basso ostinato* of a pervasive preoccupation with death and decay. E. Mâle and Huizinga, among others, had called attention to this development, and there are indeed indications that the visualization of the macabre spreads to many fields at about this time. Panofsky refers to the Laon tomb of Guillaume de Harcigny (without actually identifying it) and that of Cardinal Lagrange, both of which show a nude corpse, partially decayed; the emergence of the Dance of Death; and the introduction of a number of particularly somber motifs into the iconography of the dead Christ and of the Madonna. As literary parallels he quotes, among others, various elegiac and "melancholy" poems by Deschamps and Charles d'Orléans. One may question, perhaps, whether elegantly formulated laments like "Je suy celui au cueur vestu de noir" are really on the same plane with the macabre innovations in religious art, but the real problem seems to me to lie somewhere else. The theme of the *Contemptus Mundi*, after all, is an old one. It was already expressed with great force in the twelfth century: *Homo miser cogita: mors omnes compescit. . . . Hic qui vivit hodie cras forte putrescit*. The order of St. Paul, *Les Frères de la Mort*, whose members kissed a death's head before sitting down to eat, was founded in the thirteenth century. The Black Death, and social tensions (to which Panofsky refers) increased the morbid mood in the second half of the fourteenth century. But even the authors whom Panofsky cites do not belong, strictly speaking, to the period of the International style: Deschamps' life belongs almost entirely to the Trecento; Charles d'Orléans was a contemporary of Rogier van der Weyden. Needless to say that the macabre genre in art continued to "flourish," reaching its climax in the sixteenth century. In other words, what we witness around 1400 is not so much a new theme as an increased willingness to give visual form to familiar notions. The novelty lies in the trend to show in visual images what had been a persistent theme of late mediaeval preachers and poets. Understood in this sense, the "nocturnal aspect" of the International style is less the "reverse of a medal" than a manifestation of the same eagerness to capture every variety of

natural phenomena that we notice in calendar pictures and in the growing differentiation of individual sitters in portraiture. That the importance of the macabre theme loomed so large for Panofsky just at this moment may have been in part the doing of one great figure in whom indeed the whole chapter culminates, the enigmatic artist of the Rohan Hours. There is probably no more powerful nor deeply moving reference to death than the miniature by this master which shows God looking down in sadness and compassion on a dead man whose nakedness is all the more pitiful as it is contrasted with an exquisitely decorated cloth.

Chapter III is the shortest of the book but all the more admirable for the presentation of a number of difficult and controversial questions. It deals with the rôle of Burgundy in the early growth of Netherlandish art, and the author makes it abundantly clear that this rôle was small. After sketching the political and dynastic history of this region he deals first with Northern sculpture in general and with the origin and the development of the "Schnitz-altar" in particular. Knowledge of this development is essential for the understanding of Sluter's art, which we have in mind primarily when speaking of "Burgundian" art; yet Sluter was of Dutch origin and his training was Flemish. Still, his major works were at least produced on Burgundian soil. In panel painting the situation is much less clear, and seems to be getting worse for the "Burgundian" theories as our knowledge of other schools, such as the Bohemian, progresses. (In this connection Panofsky makes a number of interesting geographic "re-locations" of paintings of the period.) He still accepts, however, the *Legend of St. Denis* and the *Tondo of the Trinity*, both in the Louvre, as works of Malouel and Bellechose (who completed the *Legend of St. Denis*), both of them active in Dijon, though they, too, were of Flemish origin. The most important work of the "Burgundian" school of painting, the wings of a large "Schnitz-altar" painted by Broederlam, were of course not painted in Burgundy at all, but in Ypres. As one of the major products of pre-Eyckian panel painting of the Netherlands, this work will always remain a key object of our curiosity, and it is no wonder that Panofsky comes back to it in a later chapter.

The fourth chapter, entitled "The Regional Schools of the Netherlands and their Importance for the Formation of the Great Masters," is of considerable length, and deals, on the whole, with material that is not of highest artistic quality but which is necessary to know for the proper appreciation of Jan van Eyck and the Master of Flémalle. It is a chapter which at times is hard going, perhaps for the very reason that Panofsky clearly brings to it an incomparable wealth of first-hand experience gained in years of study. If any one chapter in the book is written more for the benefit of specialists than of the general reader, it is this. Belonging more to the second than the first category, I felt at times a bit lost in the maze of schools and hands. The main lines of the argument, however, are set forth with considerable clarity, and, as I understand them, they are these:

There is relatively little panel painting known between Broederlam and Jan van Eyck; a few isolated examples are for that very reason hard to localize. Among them are a tenderly painted triptych in the Van Beuningen Collection, which mainly on hagiological grounds is placed near Maestricht. (Gudlaugsson recently gave preference, for similar reasons, to Liège; see *Kunsthistorische Mededeelingen*, I, 1946, pp. 17-22.) Another is the quadriptych which is now divided between the Walters Art Gallery in Baltimore and the Musée Mayer van den Bergh in Antwerp. Panofsky explains in detail its somewhat unusual iconography and suggests Guelders as its place of origin. A third is a rather coarse painting of the Nativity in Berlin (formerly Figdor) which he tentatively localizes in North Guelders or the Duchy of Cleve. (That the angels in this panel, and the St. Joseph in a Nativity in the Musée Mayer van den Bergh [discussed on p. 76] should "fan the fire" with white sheets seems very unlikely; humble as the activity may be, I rather think that they are drying diapers.)

I regret that Panofsky does not mention a painting which seems to me to be one of the most fascinating documents for our knowledge of panel painting in the beginning of the fifteenth century. It is the *Temptation of St. Anthony* in the Escorial (Fig. 1), published by Schöne in the *Jahrbuch der Preuss. Kunstsammlungen*, LVII, 1936, p. 57. With the license provided by its theme this picture gives us a vivid idea of a secular kind of panel painting. It is, admittedly, like the *Hunting Party* in Versailles (the attribution of whose prototype to Jan van Eyck Panofsky doubts), only a late copy, hardly executed before the middle of the sixteenth century. But while the copyist betrays his period in the rendering of the landscape background, there is no reason to doubt his reliability for the general plan of the work or for the poses and costumes of the figures and the design of the architecture. Schöne placed it between Broederlam and Jan van Eyck as the work of an unknown artist of the beginning of the century, and while one could perhaps define more precisely the artistic milieu from which it came, the date assigned to it by Schöne is surely correct. That pictures of rather "free" subjects must have existed we know from Facius' descriptions of such works by Jan van Eyck and Rogier (note 27). The Escorial painting makes it abundantly clear that the Devil tempted St. Anthony not only with treasures and luxuries but with the traditional attractions of *Luxuria*, alluded to by various telling gestures and acts which Schöne chastely refused to recognize as such. The painting by Jan van Eyck which was in the Collection van der Geest and has often been referred to as an example of the erotic art of the early fifteenth century, is surely something quite different (note 203^b). We are therefore all the more fortunate to have a fair substitute in the Escorial *Temptation*.

If it were only for the few scattered panel paintings, the differentiation of regional schools would be very hazardous indeed. Fortunately, there is a great deal of book-illumination which can be assigned to specific localities with a greater degree of certainty. It appears that some of the more remote regions show unexpected

stylistic affinities with the Franco-Flemish masters; Panofsky tries to account for this phenomenon with a very welcome description of the complex political and dynastic situation prevailing in these areas. Guelders particularly, and to a lesser degree Utrecht, seem to have been the seats of a more courtly art than that practiced in Flanders proper. While it is perhaps open to doubt whether the "Master of Zweder van Culemborg" will ever be ranked as a major artist, it certainly would add to the prestige of this school if it could be shown, as Panofsky believes, that it was Guelders from which as great a figure as Master Francke took his artistic departure. A somewhat more agitated and "expressionistic" facet of the Guelders School is represented by the Master responsible for the Liège *Hours*.

While he considers the products of these schools as more sophisticated, Panofsky describes the works done at Bruges, the Artois, and Tournay as more down-to-earth. He finds in them variously "humble piety and unvarnished simplicity," "rugged candor," and "bitter humor." They are "homespun," "unpretentious," and their products can be compared to "good hearty peasants' bread." The manuscript which is most vividly described in this manner is the fascinating Albumazar of the Morgan Library (ms 785), a product of the School of Bruges. I wonder whether by stressing the analogy with things "plain and wholesome," Panofsky does not do a slight injustice to the highly sensitive and psychologically subtle art of this master, whose book, we should not forget, was once part of the library of the Duc de Berry. The manuscript is no doubt technically different from the Books of Hours, being chiefly done in straight outline drawing with a few thin washes to give modeling and color to the figures. The question confronting us here is whether the function of a manuscript should be given greater weight in judging its technical and stylistic appearance. As a treatise on astrology, the book did not need the elaborate treatment appropriate to a prayer book. If we actually consider the *ductus* of the outlines, and the psychological subtlety of which Panofsky himself is aware when he speaks of Saturn's "tragic face inclined with grief," we might well classify this master as one of the most sophisticated of the pre-Eyckian artists.

An isolated manuscript, tentatively placed in Liège, is the great *Apocalypse* of Paris, to which Panofsky had already paid tribute in his book on Dürer (p. 52). In this manuscript, he finds a combination of Flemish realism and Guelders "expressionism" (of the manner of the Liège *Hours*), though this observation does not necessarily yield reliable results for its geographic origin. Panofsky himself dates the *Apocalypse* around 1400, while he gives 1405-1410 as the date of the Liège *Hours*. Thus the reader may well wonder why the Master of the Liège *Hours* could not have been influenced by the Master of the *Apocalypse*, a possibility that would result in upsetting the author's theory of the "mixed ancestry" of the Paris *Apocalypse*, which had caused him to place it in Liège in the first place.

Another group of manuscripts is placed convincingly, as far as I can see, in Ypres, chiefly on the evi-

dence of Broederlam influence. This school sent offshoots in various directions. One is formed by the Herman Scheerre manuscripts of ca. 1405-1415. Accounting for what he calls "the smooth, cool, brilliant perfection" of these works, Panofsky refers to the "velvet-gloved discipline of the English court," though this sounds almost like arguing in circles. The analogy with Holbein and Van Dyck, at any rate, does not seem convincing. Pending the publication by Francis Wormald of the Wilton Diptych, Panofsky associates himself with those scholars who have pleaded an English origin and a late date (after 1413) for this charming work.

The last local school discussed is that of Ghent, which fortunately is more tangible than some others but which, for a town that was soon to receive the Altar of the Mystic Lamb, was artistically none too impressive. Starting with the delightfully imaginative Master of the D. Rym Hours, it ends by sprawling numerically and perhaps geographically, too, into the products of two workshop traditions of minor significance.

That there is good reason for exploring this enormous material of regional, not to say provincial, book-illumination between 1390 and 1420-1430, Panofsky demonstrates clearly in the last part of this chapter. Many motifs found in the works of the great masters of panel painting can be observed before them in these more modest works, and it was precisely the regional schools in Flanders which developed or accepted ideas that are not found in or were possibly even rejected by the great French and Franco-Flemish centers. Panofsky points out specific iconographic features such as the crossed hands of the Virgin Annunciate (appearing again in the Ghent Altar), the humility theme (used by the Master of Flémalle and applied to Saint Barbara by Jan van Eyck), and the emphasis on the midwives in the *Nativity* (known from the Master of Flémalle's Dijon *Nativity*). In this study of specific iconographic themes, several paragraphs are devoted to Master Francke, of whom the former *Ordinarius* of Hamburg University is understandably fond. He retraces once more some of the aspects of the *Imago Pietatis*, to which he devoted a full treatment in the *Festschrift für Max J. Friedländer*. In the light of new evidence found in miniature painting he now postulates a Netherlandish prototype with which Master Francke, "native of Guelders," would have been familiar, a type which also seems to have been known to the Master of Flémalle. Shifting to iconographic problems he speaks of the candle in Joseph's hand in scenes of the *Nativity* and of its connection, already stressed by Meiss, with the revelations of St. Birgitta. Panofsky notes the fact that the motif occurs in Italian Trecento panels and in Flemish book-illuminations but not in Master Francke, nor in Franco-Flemish art. There is a question in my mind as to whether the strict Brigittine explanation of the candle as the symbol of material light "totally annihilated" by the divine radiance of Christ is still sufficient to understand its meaning in the Dijon *Nativity* and pictures derived from it. What distinguishes all these pictures from previous renderings of

Joseph with the candle is the gentleness and care with which the old man protects the flickering light in his hand. Might this not have an additional meaning suggestive of the relationship of Joseph to Christ? The artist, after all, stresses in the same picture the dual nature of Christ, his divine majesty in the image of the rising sun, his humanity in the shape of a particularly scrawny and frail-looking baby on the ground. St. Birgitta herself, incidentally, had been much concerned with the twofold nature of Christ as both God and Man. Given on the one hand the age-old comparison of human life to a burning light, so easily extinguished and on the other the role of Joseph as the "Nährvater" so strongly emphasized in literature and art just at this time, I wonder if in the Dijon *Nativity* the candle has not become a symbol of Christ's humanity, entrusted in its most delicate phase to the tender care of old Joseph? (This notion was also suggested by Jules Destrée; cf. *Roger de la Pasture*, Paris, 1930, p. 164.)

However this may be, this section on iconographic problems is the perfect curtain raiser for the central chapter in the book, "Reality and Symbol in Early Flemish Painting: 'Spiritualia sub Metaphoris Corporalium.'" It is the thesis of this chapter that in early Netherlandish art the higher significance is not only frequently conveyed by a plain object, but that every item shown is potentially the carrier of a meaning other than the literal one. The basic idea is by no means unknown. Besides Tolnay, Panofsky himself has demonstrated it in previously published articles, and other authors, notably Meiss and Schapiro, have made further contributions. Yet it is a pleasure now to have Panofsky's summary. Chapter v should be required reading for all students of Flemish painting. Regardless of whether all the interpretations will remain unchallenged, or whether there are further "hidden" meanings so far undiscovered, it surely is now established beyond doubt that the famous early Flemish "realism" is incompletely understood if we do not see how largely it was suffused with religious symbolism. It was Tolnay who first formulated this into a general principle when he said "La terre toute entière est divinisée," a thought which Panofsky formulates very similarly when he speaks of the "total sanctification of the visible world." With every object potentially a carrier of a concealed meaning, there is of course a great danger that some trigger-happy iconologists may take this as an invitation to shoot from the hip. We find ourselves in a position not unlike that of the Alexandrian Fathers who were sure that every word of the Old Testament had an allegorical sense. Like them, we may end up in wild combinations and arbitrary interpretations which we may finally justify by not much more than Tertullian's famous paradox. Every student of symbolism should, therefore, before committing himself to a new theory, ponder Panofsky's advice: "We have to ask ourselves whether or not the symbolical significance of a given motif is a matter of established representational tradition . . . ; whether or not a symbolical interpretation can be justified by definite texts or agrees with ideas demonstrably alive in the period and presumably familiar to its artists . . . and to what extent such a symbolical

interpretation is in keeping with the historical position and personal tendencies of the individual master."

Of all the aspects of disguised symbolism, the author seems most fascinated by that found in architectural settings. That the early Flemish painters were fond of Romanesque architecture had been noted before, but whereas an author like Werner Korte (*Die Wiederaufnahme romanischer Bauformen in der niederländischen und deutschen Malerei des 15. und 16. Jahrhunderts*, Wolfenbüttel, 1930, incidentally not listed in the bibliography) interpreted their presence on purely formal grounds, Panofsky was the first to see that they carried with them associations of remoteness in space and time, recalling Byzantium, the Near East, or ancient Judaism (ART BULLETIN, XVII, 1935, pp. 433ff.). Adding to his former study, he now finds this meaningful use of Romanesque and Gothic forms as early as Broederlam's *Annunciation*. He sees in the same picture the Trinity—as later with Jan van Eyck—rendered under the image of a triad of windows, and chastity symbolized by a tower.

The symbolic contrast of Gothic and Romanesque is most tangible in the Prado *Betrothal of the Virgin* by the Master of Flémalle. The Betrothal takes place in front of a Gothic portal while the Presentation of the Rods is shown in a Romanesque temple. These two buildings, incidentally, do not seem to me to be two portions of one structure, but two distinct buildings, the Gothic, unfinished one laid out on a larger scale and destined eventually to encompass the older Romanesque one, a relationship which I think actually reinforces Panofsky's theory.

The most subtle application of this architectural symbolism is seen by Panofsky in Jan van Eyck's Washington *Annunciation*, where the "Romanesque" windows above the "Gothic" arcades and windows reflect for him the downward path from Triune God to Trinity. This thought, no matter how arresting, would be more convincing if Jan van Eyck had not painted the capitals in so strikingly Romanesque a style.

In his article of 1935, Panofsky suggested that Romanesque forms may not only be chronologically retrospective, symbolizing Judaism and the Old Law, but may also signify the state of bliss of the new heavenly Jerusalem. With this connotation they appear in the Rolin *Madonna*, where a mortal, saved "in effigy" before his time, is admitted to what Panofsky terms the "throne-room" of the Virgin. While accepting the interpretation in principle, I should like to stress that other than theological considerations may have been operative in the choice of the setting. One has the feeling that it is Rolin who plays the host, so to speak, and not the Virgin. His *prie-dieu* is a more permanent fixture of the room than the obliquely placed bench on which the Virgin has seated herself. In a throne-room there should at least be a throne—as there is one in so many of the other Madonnas of Jan van Eyck. Rogier's *Madonna of St. Luke*, which was derived from Jan's Rolin *Madonna*, also shows a "visit" of the Virgin on this earth. That the locale is above the level of common life may have a secular significance, considering the pride and the lofty social

position of the great Chancellor. While the world may indeed be transfigured into a likeness of Paradise, we should not fail to see that Paradise was styled along the lines of a specific social ideal of this world.

Jan van Eyck's pictures, Panofsky feels, are more densely filled with concealed symbolical meaning than those of the Master of Flémalle; with the latter he suspects residues of "objectivity without significance, or significance without disguise." How far Jan van Eyck went in eliminating such residues is demonstrated in a brilliant analysis of the *Madonna in the Church*. Developing Meiss' study (ART BULLETIN, XXVII, 1945, pp. 175ff.) he explains that it was no accident that the light falls into the church from the North. Jan introduced this feature in a desire to symbolize the "Light Divine" which can never go down.

The fact that the light comes from the Virgin's right gives Panofsky the opportunity to deal with the symbolic differentiation of right and left. He prepares here the ground for an emphatic assertion that the thief in the Frankfurt panel of the Master of Flémalle is indeed, as a majority of scholars seem to believe, the Bad Thief. Panofsky calls attention to the rule that the Good Thief, like the church, is always placed at the right of Christ, while the unrepentant one, like the Synagogue, is at His left (note 147²). When a subject like the Death of Abel appears once on the left of the Lord, as in the Ghent Altar, and another time at the right of Christ and the Virgin, as in the van der Paele Altar, Panofsky explains that in one case it refers to original sin, in the other to Christ's sacrifice. The case of the *Madonna* of the Canon van der Paele, however, is not quite so simple. Opposed to the Murder of Abel appears Samson killing the Lion, a subject which is almost certain to have a "good" significance even though it appears here at the left of the Virgin. The seeming anomaly can be resolved by referring to another "rule" based on the significance of "vicinity" or of "direction," which at times may interfere with and supersede the traditional meaning of right and left. In the van der Paele Altar both the Virgin and Child are turned to the right, thus facing "left"; because of this direction they seem to neutralize the unfavorable connotation of the sinister side, while possibly eliminating also the positive meaning of the right. They are turning their backs on the scene of Cain's murder, so that this subject may very well have the same unfavorable meaning as its parallel in the Ghent Altar.

The superseding of one principle by another may well have come into play in the Frankfurt panel. It is true that there is no conventional rendering of the crucifixion with Christ in the center in which the Good Thief appears anywhere but at the right of Christ. It should be remembered, however, that almost invariably in all these renderings Christ's head falls towards his right shoulder so that it seems inclined towards the figures on his right side, primarily the Virgin. In many cases the Good Thief turns his face towards Christ while the unrepentant one averts his. In an exceptional composition like Cranach's early *Crucifixion*, where Christ is off-center, and the direction of his head is not clear, there can be serious doubt which of the

Thieves is the good and which the bad one. The one facing us, but turning his head away from Christ, may very well be the bad one, despite the fact that he is on the right side of Christ. In the Mantegnesque *Crucifixion* in the New York Historical Society (reproduced in E. Tietze-Conrat, *Mantegna*, London, 1955, fig. 20) Christ's head is turned towards the right so that he seems to be looking toward the thief at his left. And it is this thief who looks up at Christ with reverence, his whole body moving forward as if desirous to be nearer to Christ, while the thief at Christ's right, hanging rigid and almost defiant, averts his dark face. The conclusion seems inescapable that the Good Thief is here at Christ's left.

Indeed, if we check Molanus, whom Panofsky cites as one of the ecclesiastic authorities for the rule that the Good Thief must always be at Christ's right, we find—not surprising in this sixteenth century apologist for "orthodox" iconography—a strongly polemical stand against the "erroneous" view that the place of the thieves could be reversed. He specifically attacks the famous humanist Hadrianus Junius of Hoorn (1511-1575)—no heretic—for defending the "wrong" order of the thieves with theological arguments by saying that Jacob in blessing Ephraim, his younger son, had given preference to the son at his left and in doing so had made the sign of the Cross with his arms.

If we turn now to the Frankfurt fragment and the Liverpool copy of the whole altar we see that the two thieves are strikingly differentiated. The one on the left wing has a twisted motion and hangs from a rude, coarsely-fashioned cross. He is blindfolded and alone, like an outcast; the figures below him turn their backs on him. The thief at the right (in Frankfurt) is attached to a neatly carpentered cross, similar to that used for Christ, and his body echoes strikingly the traditional pose of Christ on the Cross. The two men below him, one of them surely the believing centurion, look up to him with expressions and gestures of reverence and compassion; it is for their sake that his head falls to the right. Even the landscapes are differentiated: the one at the left is rocky, barren and unfriendly; the one on the right has a succession of gentle hills with a road leading to a town in which we can distinguish a church-like building.

Max J. Friedländer, surely one of the most sensitive observers of early Flemish art (and following him Musper) instinctively called the Frankfurt figure the Good Thief. All appearances favor this identification and there is evidently no theological rule ironclad enough to exclude it. It remains for us to explain why the Master of Flémalle should have chosen to deviate from tradition. The answer lies, I think, in the very simple fact that the central panel (and here I part company with Musper) did not show a Crucifixion but a Descent from the Cross, and that in this Descent a new iconographic pattern was introduced. For the first time in Northern art Christ is completely freed from the nails which held him to the Cross, and is lowered down by his faithful friends. In this composition Christ's head, instead of falling towards the left side of the picture, is now inclined in the opposite

direction and thus comes close to the thief in the right wing. It shows the thoroughness with which the Master of Flémalle studied all the implications of his new arrangement and that he realized how the traditional placing of the malefactors would bring the bad one close to Christ while putting a large distance between Christ and the good one. In this situation he broke with tradition, displaying the courage and independence of judgment of a great master. (It is perhaps not accidental that Rogier in his "painted critique" of the *Descent from the Cross* by the Master of Flémalle, besides the many stylistic changes, also made an important iconographic one by reversing the body of Christ. He thus re-established the traditional motif according to which the dead Christ's head falls in the direction of the Virgin, i.e., towards the left-hand side of the picture. (See also O. G. von Simson, *ART BULLETIN*, xxxv, 1953, pp. 9ff.)

The chronological sequence of the great fifteenth century panel painters begins in chapter vi. Like Tolnay, Panofsky starts with the Master of Flémalle, whose role as a great teacher he diminishes to some extent without denying, however, that it was this master who first clearly represented the new stylistic phase. He goes so far as to say that the Master of Flémalle was the first artist to leave the Middle Ages behind; he sees in him a representative of that "ars nova" which in music, according to fifteenth century writers, was introduced by Dufay and Binchois. Moreover, quoting an analysis by Willi Apel, Panofsky sees parallel phenomena in the development of both music and art in this time. In both fields, "simple, strong, and uninhibited veracity" replaced "precious and tortured sentiment" and important technical innovations were made in both media. The fact that music historians as well as art historians independently tend to mark a new stylistic phase at about the same time is surely highly significant. What were the reasons for the emergence of the *ars nova*?

Panofsky sees clearly that one of the contributing factors was the presence on Flemish soil of a strong social magnet, the court of Burgundy, and the "wealthiest and most cosmopolitan society in Europe." Yet he credits this situation with hardly more than having provided the stage for a combination of the "volatile elegance of the International Style" with the "naive strength of the domestic tradition." For him, the *ars nova* "arose" not only from an alliance of sculpture and painting but from the fusion of the "sophistication," "worldliness," and "brilliance" of one tradition (the International style) with the "candor," "piety," and "truthfulness" of another (the indigenous Flemish one). Assuming that these were indeed the chief "ingredients" of the *ars nova* it is evident that there must have been factors which at this historical moment favored the combination into a new style of these heterogeneous traditions. At a critical moment in the history of Flemish art, Panofsky is hesitant to make reference to social or ideological factors. Agreed, that genius and its appearance can as little be accounted for *post festum* as it can be predicted. Yet his discussion of the International style shows that he, too, believes

that some of the forms which genius chooses for its expression are capable of historical explanation. It may be significant, for instance, that the innovations of Dufay and Binchois coincide chronologically with those of the Master of Flémalle and Jan van Eyck. Is it less significant that all four men were contemporaries of Brunelleschi and Ghiberti, Donatello and Masaccio? Is the *ars nova* at all connected with the phenomenon of the Renaissance?

There are aspects which would point in this direction. What, for instance, about the striking increase in the painting of portraits? That the origin of portrait painting in the North must be sought in the *milieu* of the courts has recently been stressed by Meiss (*The Burlington Magazine*, xciv, 1952, p. 137). In the fifteenth century, however, different social strata appear in portraits; there are merchants, great composers, and the artists themselves. It seems as if to the notion of portraiture's providing a "magic" remedy against extinction a new one had been added, that of perpetuating the features of "men of accomplishments" to insure their perennial fame. When Panofsky submits the novel and most ingenious identification of the so-called *Timotheus* in London as a portrait of the composer Gilles Binchois (more fully presented in his article in the *Warburg Journal*, xii, 1949, p. 80), he notes the similarity between the parapet with its inscriptions and the memorial tablets of Roman portraits; he also refers (note 197²) to the literary fashion of extolling prominent contemporaries by evoking the names of those who, in ancient times, had acquired fame in the same field. Are we faced here, to use a Panofskian distinction, with symptoms of a renaissance or of the Renaissance?

Am I mistaken or are there "classical" elements in the design of the armor of St. Michael in the Dresden triptych and that of St. George in the van der Paele altarpiece? Does not Facius, whose praise of Jan van Eyck and of Rogier van der Weyden the author reprints in full, specifically credit Jan's technical advances to his study of Pliny? Panofsky considers it quite possible that the little fly on Petrus Christus' portrait of a Carthusian was inspired by acquaintance with classical anecdotes about tricks of *trompe-l'œil*. I might mention also that Hans Kauffmann (*Geistige Welt*, iv, 1950, pp. 45ff., quoted by Panofsky only by the subtitle of this short-lived magazine) considers the possibility of a direct influence of Italian Renaissance artists on Jan van Eyck.

Another question that could be asked is how to account for the great differences between the Master of Flémalle and Jan van Eyck. As markedly original individuals they were admittedly endowed by nature with their own constitution, their own temperament, their own vision. We could not ask for a better guide than Panofsky for a formulation of these personal gifts and tendencies. Under his touch all the great personalities assume colorful plasticity and unmistakable uniqueness. Yet are their differences no more than manifestations of individual genius or the result of influences absorbed because of some kind of "Wahlverwandtschaft"? "Jan van Eyck, the courtly aristocrat,

was in instinctive sympathy with the International Style" (p. 204): this is as far as Panofsky goes in connecting the art of Jan with his social environment. Is it only coincidental that the "courtly aristocrat" projects his religious themes in terms of a world sparkling with gold, brocade, pearls and precious stones, inhabited by quiet, dignified figures whose every move seems to be circumscribed by ceremony and ritual? Or that the Master of Flémalle, who rendered his subjects in coarser forms, with stronger emotions, and in settings associated with everyday habitation, physical work, and frugal tastes, was himself, as far as we can see, primarily active in an urban, middle-class environment? These spheres were of course not hermetically sealed off from each other, just as the artists themselves did not remain confined within their styles. There was as much antagonism as attraction between the various social strata, of the court and the towns, just as there seems to have been between the chief artists' studios. But no matter how much mutual influence and artistic interchange we may notice, it seems to me of primary importance to remember that underlying Flemish art as well as the literature of the time is the basic conflict between the nobles and the *vilains*.

Even Jan van Eyck's perfection of the oil technique which permitted him to turn a picture into a glowing jewel may have been connected with a desire to find a visual equivalent for vast wealth refined by exquisite taste. As regards the history of the use of oil in painting the author gives a very informative survey of the present state of our knowledge, enriched by a revealing fourteenth century passage from Pierre Bersuire's writings (found by W. S. Hecksher) which compares the oil of God's mercy that enables us to persist in virtue to the oil which helps the pigments to adhere and to endure. I am hesitant, however, to accept Panofsky's definition of the term "doodverw" as meaning "opaque underpaint," in contrast to translucent colors. It probably meant no more than the use of a single color, probably gray or brown, for the execution of a preliminary design, or of a "grisaille" (see also F. Grossmann, *The Burlington Magazine*, 2, xciv, 1952, p. 223). It is interesting that when van Mander mentions a painting by Jan van Eyck which may very well be the little Saint Barbara in Antwerp, he said that it was only "dead-colored" (*ghedootverwet*).

Panofsky seems reasonably sure that the Master of Flémalle was identical with Robert Campin of Tournay. That he retains the anonymous version of the name is probably due to the fact that no link has as yet come to light which would tie the *œuvre* of the Master of Flémalle to the historical figure of Campin. Campin is mentioned in Tournay in 1406. Panofsky concludes from this date that he may have been born around 1380. However, since Campin's age in a document of 1422 is given as 47 (his wife being 50 years old, which probably means that he had married the widow of his master) the date of his birth was more likely about 1375. The earlier date of his birth seems to get support from the very document of 1406 since it refers to a painting which he had done for a lady who had died before that year; the inference being that Campin

had received the commission several years before 1406.

In his discussion of the documentary evidence concerning the apprenticeship of Rogier with Campin, Panofsky gives some new support to the thesis that the word *maître* in the much-debated document of 1426 does not necessarily refer to an artist, since it appears in the records of the Tournay municipality and not in those of the artists' guild. He gives great weight, on the other hand (as Tolnay had done too), to the evidence furnished by the works and the career of Jacques Daret, a pupil of the historical Campin and at the same time next to Rogier the closest follower of the Master of Flémalle. What Panofsky has to say upon the artistic origin of the Master of Flémalle is also highly significant, since it all leads to art and artists working between 1390 and 1410, and thus to the years in which the historical Campin was beginning his career.

With most scholars, the author holds the von Seilern triptych—the most sensational discovery of recent times in Early Flemish art—to be the earliest work extant, dating it ca. 1415-1420. (His contention that the donor has been repainted was emphatically rejected by Count Seilern in the recently published catalogue of his collection.) He points out connections with Jacquemart de Hesdin and Melchior Broederlam for this work, while he sees influences from the expressive realism of the Bruges school of ca. 1400 in the Prado *Betrothal* which follows it chronologically. The grisaille "sculptures" on the back of the Prado panel, appearing there, as Tolnay saw, for the first time, as well as a late copy in the church of Hoogstraten, enable Panofsky to reconstruct the original altar. They suggest to him also a connection with real sculpture of the Sluter style, a connection borne out by the sculptural appearance of the Master's figures even when done in full color. The "alliance between sculpture and painting" (making sculptures more illusionistic as it makes paintings more sculptural) according to Panofsky was of "fundamental importance for the genesis of the *ars nova*." He gives credit for this mutual influence to the workshop "intimacy" between sculptors and painters, known from documented cases of collaboration. Such a collaboration, however, was known long before this time. Could it be that the simulated sculpture in these paintings was not only bred by familiarity but owes its existence at least in part to a desire to steal the thunder of a rival art? The formal *Paragone* is still far in the future, but the knowledge of classical anecdotes on illusionism (see above) and a growing pride in art as a distinguished human activity may well have helped to create artistic effects which point in its direction. (For this question see also Meiss, *ART BULLETIN*, XXVII, 1945, p. 191.)

In the development of the Master of Flémalle, Panofsky distinguishes several phases. The high point of his career is reached between 1420 and 1432, when all the major works assembled under his name were produced. Among them are found the Dijon *Nativity*, dated by Panofsky 1420-1425; the "Salting" *Madonna* (the modern chalice of which he accepts hypothetically as a copy by a restorer of a similar object

he saw in the —damaged—original); the Mérode Altar, which he dates, because of its influence on Jan van Eyck, not later than 1427-1428; the lost *Descent from the Cross*, dated already by Hulin de Loo ca. 1429-1430; and the Frankfurt panels from which the master derived his name, dated 1430-1432. These works are followed by an Eyckian influence in the early thirties, which in turn gives way to one from Rogier in the latter half of the decade. The author asserts strongly, contrary to Tolnay, and to Friedländer's "second thought," that the gesture of St. John in the Werl Altar of 1438 was derived from, and could never have been the model for, Rogier's Christ in the Granada Altar, which thus must antedate 1438. The striking difference between the portraits (unfortunately only a few of them are preserved) by the Master of Flémalle and by Jan van Eyck is due to a considerable extent, as Panofsky observes, to their treatment of light. The Master's figures are averted from it, while Jan's turn straight into its path. The method of the Master achieves sculptural strength; Jan's results in a striking spatial effect. Jan's figures literally emerge from a dark background into the light.

The author turns lastly to copies of lost compositions among which the "Vengeance of Tomyris" is of special interest. The original function of a painting of such size poses a problem. When Panofsky says that the subject, known from the *Speculum Humanae Salvationis*, is a prefiguration of the Virgin's victory over the Devil, he suggests a religious context. There is little likelihood, however, that it ever formed part of an altar. While not normally found among the themes of Justice, it could well have been part of a secular decoration, conveying as it does the punishment of a tyrant's cruelty. It might also have been part of a series illustrating the power of women. Another "lost" picture, of Jael Slaying Sisera, could have been part of the same set provided it was indeed—a fact of which I am not at all sure—a work of the Master of Flémalle. The large canvases—much too little known—of the museum at Reims are examples of such secular decorations, and some of them seem to go back to, or at least reflect, models of the first half of the fifteenth century.

A valuable contribution to the list of lost works is made by Panofsky with the convincing reconstruction of a *Crucifixion* from two unconnected copies. He eliminates justly, it seems, from this group several works as "pastiche" made of Flémallesque motifs, among them the Prado *Annunciation*, and the *Crucifixion* in Berlin. That the portrait of Robert de Masmines (?) in Berlin should be only a copy of a lost Flémalle, as Panofsky as well as Tolnay believes, is not convincing, however, in view of the very high quality of the work. If it is not a work of the Master of Flémalle, the attribution to Rogier, suggested before, should again be considered seriously.

Since Panofsky's acquaintance with monuments and with the literature is almost uncannily complete, I may be forgiven for calling attention to one painting not mentioned in his book, which if not by the Master of Flémalle himself is surely very closely related to him.

This is the very beautiful *Madonna on a Grassy Bench* in the Museum in Douai (Fig. 3). It is not unknown in the literature, since Hulin de Loo (1902) and Winkler (Thieme-Becker) mentioned it as a copy after the master; it was also published by J. Maquet-Tombu (*The Burlington Magazine*, LVII, 1930, p. 122) with two other, inferior, versions which prove, if nothing else, that it was a famous composition. It shows analogies (especially in the hands of the Virgin, which are almost identical, though in reverse) with a lost composition, known from a drawing in the Louvre, and Winkler, indeed, assumes that it was derived from that picture. The large halo and circle of clouds remind us of the *Madonna in Glory* in Aix-en-Provence. Yet the picture does not impress me as a *pasticcio*. It certainly is a work which should be given more study, and if possible a technical examination.

In view of the "radical" solution of the Flémalle problem proposed by Renders and accepted by Friedländer, Panofsky's stand must be called "conservative." The same term is in order for his attitude towards the problem of the Brothers van Eyck. He is no more inclined to see Hubert van Eyck as a *personnage de légende* than he is ready to abandon the concept of the Master of Flémalle as a distinct artistic personality. Aware of the hypothetical character of much of our knowledge concerning Hubert, Panofsky starts his discussion of the van Eycks with Jan. With the exception of Rogier van der Weyden, there is no other artist in his book who is given as much space. Jan van Eyck, the "explorer," and Rogier, the "inventor" (in Friedländer's words, which Panofsky cites) are the figures towards whom almost everything in the earlier chapters leads and on whom almost everything after depends. No matter whether chronological priority for some ideas goes to Campin, or whether Petrus Christus, Bouts, and Hugo van der Goes are recognized as figures of considerable originality, Jan and Rogier remain the unchallenged peaks in the range of early Netherlandish painting. And of these two, I have the impression that Panofsky is drawn by admiration to Jan, by sympathy to Rogier.

The fascination which Jan exerts through his mature works comes close to the hypnotic. Though he may not have been an alchemist (as Vasari claims), Jan is seen as a conjurer who as if by magic created a wonderful, glittering, impeccable world, brimful of optical surprises and hidden meanings, sufficient unto itself, and both real and elusive, like the image seen in a mirror. With eyes which operated, as the author happily expresses it, both as a microscope and a telescope, he scanned the visible world, seeing in it everything except human emotions, for the observation of which neither "is a good instrument." It is indeed the unemotional, almost chilling remoteness of the *Man in the Red Turban* in London which renders so convincing the identification (known already to the seventeenth century and accepted by Panofsky as by others) of this work as a self-portrait of the artist. "Impressionable yet imperturbable, disillusioned yet insatiably curious" this man "agrees with the idea

which Jan van Eyck's pictures convey of their maker."

In the center of Panofsky's discussion of Jan van Eyck stands the problem of the chronology of his works. Baldass, in his recent book on Jan (London, 1952), gives an instructive survey of the dates assigned by the leading scholars to Jan's undated works. Rather than assuming that Jan worked on several of his pictures over long periods of time, Baldass himself believes that Jan was capable of practicing simultaneously different styles, depending on the subject and the size of his pictures. Panofsky on the other hand tries to establish a clear-cut succession of dates. He states that there are "12 or 13" pictures which are "dated or datable" and he sees the undated ones readily falling into place. I cannot share this optimism.

Among the "datable" works (all of which supposedly fall into the years 1432-1441) Panofsky counts the Dresden triptych (which he nevertheless dates 1430-1431) and the Lucca *Madonna*, although there is nothing in these works which makes them more datable than, say, the *Madonna* of Chancellor Rolin. Like all the other undated works they must be placed on the basis of criticism of style. The situation is further complicated by problems raised by the seemingly fixed dates. The date of the Melbourne *Madonna*, as far as I could make out when the picture was exhibited at the World's Fair in 1939, is 1432 rather than 1433, as is commonly said. This may indeed be the correct date, but we should not forget that the inscription of which the date is a part was added later (presumably copied from the old frame) and that it therefore must be considered with caution. It does not add to our confidence that the date is written in Roman numerals, contrary to Jan's general practice of using arabic ones or—exceptionally—a combination of both. The next date, leaving aside, as does Panofsky, the portraits of 1433 and 1434, is the date 1436, inscribed on the frame of the *Madonna* of the Canon van der Paele. This inscription is surely original, though the last line may have been tampered with. (See Janssens de Bisthoven and R. A. Parmentier, *Le Musée communal de Bruges*, Antwerp 1951, p. 41.) It mentions one endowed altar (later changed to read two) founded in 1434; this makes sense only if we identify that altar with the one on which the painting was placed. Thus it is likely (as Baldass thinks, too) that the commission for the picture was given in 1434 and that Jan worked on it for about two years—not too much considering the size and the manner of execution of the Bruges panel. In Panofsky's "tight" chronology a shift of a date from "1436" to "1434-1436" makes quite a difference. The third "dated" picture, the *Madonna at the Fountain* in Antwerp is unique because of the formulation of the inscription which says that the picture was painted by Jan van Eyck and completed in 1439. The author's explanation of the wording, as containing a reference to the St. Barbara panel of 1437 which "though 'made' by Jan van Eyck was not a 'completed' picture" seems to me rather forced (besides the point made by Panofsky elsewhere, and quite convincingly, too, that the Barbara panel *was*, after all, a "finished product *sui juris*"). Since Jan was

meticulous about the time he last laid his hand on a picture, to the extent of occasionally mentioning the actual day, I can well imagine that the inscription of the Antwerp panel is intended to tell us that he had begun the picture earlier but finished it only in 1439, leaving it to us to decide what may belong to the earlier, what to the later phase of the work. Panofsky actually calls the style of the picture "archaizing," though he qualifies it as "deliberate," referring parenthetically to a "possibly more than accidental resemblance to Rogier van der Weyden's early *Madonna* in Vienna." In his chapter on Rogier he dates this *Madonna* 1430-1432. The resemblance can be explained either by an influence of Rogier on Jan (which seems to be the explanation which Panofsky prefers, see note 251⁶) or by the assumption of a common prototype, most likely in the work of Campin. The second alternative seems the more likely one to me but it surely would constitute a strong argument in favor of placing at least the conception of this composition into a much earlier period of Jan van Eyck. (The phrase *fecit et complevit* also appears on the Berlin *Holy Face* but Panofsky looks at this inscription with well-justified suspicions [note 187¹]. Even if it were based on an original inscription it would not necessarily invalidate the theory proposed here, since there could have been two such pictures which were made up at a later date.)

Of the remaining "dated or datable" works Jan is at best only partially responsible for three: the Rothschild *Madonna*, now at the Frick Collection, the Detroit *St. Jerome*, and the so-called Ypres *Madonna*—all three belonging to his last years. The basis for a chronology of Jan's works, hence, is much narrower than Panofsky would have us believe, and the artist's development that much less certain. Indeed, I have grave misgivings about accepting Panofsky's formula of an "early" phase of "freedom and informality," followed by a stage of "classic balance" around 1434, reaching "hieratic austerity" around 1436, and ending in an "ultimate synthesis" fusing "mellowness with grandeur" around 1440.

What disturbs me more than the dates given for undated pictures (the areas of disagreement being relatively minor), or the concept of "phases" of very brief duration and represented by a few works only, is the total absence from this discussion of the Ghent Altar. No matter how problematical, the Ghent Altar, after all, is Jan's most important work. It was finished in May, 1432, an incontrovertible date. To be sure, Panofsky deals with it exhaustively in a separate chapter, concluding that "Jan, and Jan alone" was responsible for the whole exterior, for the Adam and Eve panels, and for the physical execution, if not the conception, of many others. Jan's activity in connection with the Ghent Altar lies somewhere between the years 1426 and 1432, and probably nearer 1432. Thus it is by no means a "youthful" phase in his development. By every standard, the Ghent Altar is a keystone of his *œuvre*, produced in his mature years. To trace Jan's artistic development without it, in works which belong only to the period after it was finished, seems like tracing Michelangelo's development solely in terms

of works finished after the Sistine Ceiling. Panofsky's reason for postponing the discussion of the Ghent Altar is of course one of method. He wanted to proceed from the "known" to the "unknown" or the "controversial." Yet if we see that not only the Ghent Altar but also the whole group of *juvenilia* lie before the period on which he based his study of Jan's character and development, one can not help feeling that he has approached these questions too soon.

How little we can afford to leave out the Ghent Altar from a consideration of even the unquestioned works of Jan can be demonstrated with a reference to the Dresden triptych. It is a difficult picture, dated 1427-1430 by Beenken, 1433 by Tolnay, 1434-1436 by Friedländer, and 1437 by Kämmerer. Panofsky adds a new date to these, as mentioned before: 1430-1431. He thus places it exactly in the years when Jan must have been intensely occupied with the Ghent Altar. Now if there is one work of Jan's which differs strikingly from those parts of the Ghent Altar which Panofsky accepts as his, it is the Dresden triptych. It suffices to compare the imitation sculptures on its outside with the two St. Johns in Ghent. Almost any date would be preferable to that given by Panofsky. The costume of the donor is early; the curious gesture of his hands resembles that of the St. Francis in the Turin and Philadelphia panels of which the former, far superior in my opinion to the latter, might be, or might reflect, an early work of Jan. (Panofsky doubts that Jan had anything to do with the design of this work; I should like to mention that the Dresden donor faces the Virgin as little as St. Francis does the seraph.) Despite these arguments, which apparently induced Beenken to give an early date to the work, I still think that of all dates proposed Friedländer's is the most acceptable. (A minor inaccuracy occurs in Panofsky's discussion of the symbolical features of the Dresden triptych. The Sacrifice of Isaac is not on the capitals but on the Virgin's throne, appearing right above the Pelican. It is opposed by David and Goliath, above the Phoenix.)

Of the many points where I find myself in agreement with the author, I should like to mention his reluctance to credit Jan with more than the plan of the Rothschild *Madonna* in the Frick Collection. His interpretation of the Detroit *St. Jerome* as a work made for Cardinal Albergati (now also published in greater detail in *Studies in Art and Literature for Belle da Costa Greene*, Princeton, 1954, p. 102) will remain a gem of historical sleuthing. Panofsky's refutation, finally, of Tolnay's theory that the *Madonna in the Church* is based on a lost Flémalle composition seems to me entirely convincing.

The chapter on Jan van Eyck ends with a discussion of the Arnolfini double portrait in London, to the painting to which the author had dedicated one of his first studies in the field of early Netherlandish painting. While that article has by now become a minor classic in the literature of the history of art, it is worth while to follow up a reading of it with a glance at this newer, condensed version. Panofsky quotes new evidence (some of it provided in an article by Miss Rosenau) for the

interpretation of the gestures as those of a traditional marriage ceremonial. In his "addenda" (p. 536) he even refers to a fifteenth century marriage ritual in Avignon which required the groom to hold the bride's right hand in his left, as Giovanni Arnolfini is doing. The candle he declares now to be a symbol of the "all-seeing Christ" (he had said "God" before), an equation which perhaps could have been substantiated further. He accepts the shedding of the shoes (in which, incidentally, Jeanne de Cenami shares) as a reference to God's command to Moses on Mount Sinai. The fruit on the window-sill has probably symbolical significance, too, but I wonder if the artist, in a picture of a marriage ceremony, really wanted them to signify "the state of innocence before the Fall of Man."

Since the appearance of Panofsky's book the volumes by Martin Davies on the Flemish Primitives in London have come out (Antwerp, 1954). I should like to mention here briefly one of the most surprising results of a recent scientific examination of the Arnolfini picture, the discovery of a large number of *pentimenti*. Both hands of Giovanni were first posed quite differently; each of his legs was drawn in three different positions; there are considerable changes in his hat and dress, some minor ones in Jeanne de Cenami, and a change of the mirror from an octagonal to its present shape. This discovery makes us see Jan van Eyck's art in a new light. It not only clearly vindicates Panofsky's opinion of the St. Barbara panel (see above) but it reveals to us Jan's creative process as one much more fluid and spontaneous than we might have thought otherwise. With the artist still experimenting on his panel, we can hardly assume a complex and circumstantial preparation in which every detail was planned and "in place" before he began painting; the dearth of original drawings may in part be explained in this manner. What the function or meaning was of the changes made in this particular case will probably be answered differently by different scholars. To me they seem to point in the direction of a strengthening of the formal and hieratic character of the scene.

In a few long notes the author deals with some of the "contested" works and with pictures by Jan now lost but known from descriptions or copies or both. It is not surprising that he does not accept the "truly startling" attribution of the Vienna *Fool* to Jan van Eyck (proposed not only by Brockwell and Begeer but also by Renders). Baldass' reference to France surely points in the right direction, though I would think less of the Master of the *Annunciation* of Aix (who recently, in another "startling" theory, was identified with no less an artist than the Master of Flémalle; see L. van Puyvelde, *Gazette des Beaux Arts*, XLIV, 1954, pp. 145-162) than of the circle of Fouquet. *The Man with a Pink* in Berlin, on the other hand, is surely Flemish and still poses a serious problem. The least likely theory, represented by Beenken and Baldass, calls it the work of a follower of Jan van Eyck. Panofsky, like Voll (confirmed in his view by the argument that "broken-color" carnations are not known before the second half of the fifteenth century [?]) considers it the product of an imitator of Jan van

Eyck, working in a consciously archaic style around 1500. This view, too, is unsatisfactory, since, contrary to the Sibiu portrait which Panofsky also calls the work of an "imitator" of Jan, the Berlin portrait strictly speaking does not imitate Jan's style or portrait conception at all. Nor do I know of any "archaic" master around 1500 whose work would show this kind of awkwardness of pose and proportion, combined with equal technical subtlety and meticulousness. As a work of around 1500 it would have to be called an early example of forgery—and to do that we would need stronger arguments. The X-ray evidence, while excluding Jan van Eyck, no longer seems to me, as it did fifteen years ago (*ART BULLETIN*, XXII, 1940, p. 43) conclusive enough to support Burrough's placing of the work in the circle of the Master of Moulins. The theory proposed by Schenck (*Zeitschrift für Kunst—*not *Kunstgeschichte*, as listed in Panofsky) that it is a self-portrait of Hubert van Eyck will be hard to prove, but I also feel that we must go back again to an early dating. That the idea of gesturing hands in portraiture was fully developed only in the early sixteenth century (Massys) does not prevent us from crediting a painter of the beginning of the fifteenth century with having initiated it; the revival of an old and long dormant idea, especially with a man like Massys, has nothing surprising about it.

In an *addendum* Panofsky lists, on the evidence of a sales-transaction of 1506 between a Venetian collector and Isabella d'Este, what must have been one of the most interesting of the "lost" paintings by Jan van Eyck, a *Drowning of Pharaoh and His Hosts in the Red Sea*. Strangely enough the picture, described as having been painted *de propria mano*, has not been mentioned before in the whole literature on Jan van Eyck. It is "dimly reflected," the author feels, in a painting of the same subject by Mazzolino in Dublin.

Of all the van Eyck problems that of the Ghent Altar is the most important, and the most baffling. The famous work has been intensely studied in the last twenty years. While nothing has come to light which allows a clear solution acceptable to all, we have now before us scientific data which clarify the issue in several respects. The physical examination carried out in the Brussels laboratory by Dr. Coremans and his associates has shown that there are not only a number of early changes but that later restorations have left important traces; some sections of the work are still hidden under later repainting; the tower of Utrecht and some other parts of the *Adoration of the Lamb* were added only in the sixteenth century. The reconstruction of the "lower" triptych (which Panofsky calls a *pentaptych* because of the subdivision of the wings in two parts) with a raised center and corresponding "panhandles" on the extreme wings has been disproved, but Panofsky still thinks that the central panel was slightly curtailed above and below. The crown at the feet of God, and the inscription along the ledge behind it belong to a later working phase than the rest of the panel, but they had been projected (the inscription indeed executed) in an earlier layer of the paint-film. While the Brussels experts are inclined to attribute

the crown and the inscription to a post-Eyckian period, Panofsky sees Jan's hand here and considers this as important evidence for attributing the rest of the panel (and by implication the two accompanying ones) to Hubert.

It should be remembered, however, that the altar had to be returned to Ghent Cathedral before the physical examination and regeneration had been finished, and that, in addition, apparently not all the findings of the study of the work in the Brussels laboratory have been published yet. This I take from a personal communication by the author in which he mentions that some changes might have to be made in his discussion of the altar on the basis of data which came to light since he finished his book. They will not, though, affect his basic theory, a theory which I want to outline briefly.

Panofsky accepts the inscription on the altar as genuine and contemporary with the rest of the work. In his reading of the inscription he follows Hulin de Loo, except for a minor change, and he deals with the philological and paleographical problems in a long note (206'). He feels that the execution of the work by two masters, vouched for by the inscription, is supported by discrepancies in the structure and the iconography of the work, and that the altar, as it appears now, is the result of a complex history not foreseen when it was first undertaken. In this, most scholars will probably agree. When Panofsky says that "nothing short of a personal communication from either Hubert or Jan van Eyck" will convince him "that the Ghent Altar was planned as it is now," we foresee little danger for his basic conviction, and not merely because of our imperfect contacts with the places where the two brothers presumably dwell.

The Ghent Altar, according to Panofsky, is iconographically an All Saints picture, related to a tradition which was established in illustrations of St. Augustine's *De Civitate Dei* and which owes its popularity to a revival of Augustinianism that began around the middle of the thirteenth century. Of the "novel" iconographic features, the inclusion of the Fountain of Life, associated in the very inscription on the altar with the "pure river of water of life" of Rev. 22:1, is the least difficult to explain. There are more "puzzling anomalies" such as the prominent position and the sumptuous gown given to St. John; the place and the size of the panels with Adam and Eve; the winglessness of the musical angels (though there were wingless angels also in the lost painting of the Fountain of Life; see below); above all, the presence in the central panel of the Dove and the Lamb, since the central figure above is already "the image of God in his complete Trinitarian essence." There is, furthermore, the inclusion among the *chori beatorum* of a group of figures not normally found among them: the Just Judges none of whom is an "identifiable Saint."

It is well known (from his earlier articles in this magazine) that Panofsky's solution of these difficulties—as well as of the purely formal ones found in the lacking correspondence of the vertical divisions on the wings—postulates the assembly into one "super-altar"

of various units which originally had nothing to do with each other. He assumes that Hubert van Eyck had started, and in part finished, three major projects when he died. One was an altar with three large seated figures, a type which is found in painted pictures of legendary scenes such as the Masses of SS. Hubert and Gregory, or in Presentations of Christ, though no extant example is known. The second was an "old type" All Saints picture showing the Adoration of the Lamb, corresponding to the lower part of the present altar. The third were two panels, destined for an ambry or an organ, containing angels singing and playing musical instruments. Of these three units, the first was practically completed; the second partly so, and the third had only been outlined. Nothing is known about the patrons for whom these works were undertaken. Panofsky conjectures, however, that the payment from the magistrates of Ghent which Hubert received in 1425 for two designs for an altar refer to the "original" *Adoration of the Lamb* which hence had been commissioned by this official body of the city of Ghent.

When Hubert dies in 1426, Jodocus Vyd enters the scene. "Wealthy and influential as he was" he "could easily persuade Hubert's original clients to cede their rights to him." He not only buys the rights to the three projects but also conceives the idea of combining them into a grand single unit, using the *Adoration of the Lamb* as a base and putting the others on top of it. The sizes of the pieces are favorable, since the width of the nearly finished "upper" triptych corresponds roughly to that of the central panel of the *Adoration of the Lamb*. What is needed are two narrow panels to make up for the remainder between the width of the musical angels and the combined width of the projected wings below. Vyd turns to Jan van Eyck with the request that he furnish these missing parts, complete all the unfinished areas in Hubert's panels, make whatever iconographic adjustments may be needed and design and finish the outside of all the wing-panels, above and below. Jan obliges and finishes the work in 1432.

It is easy to see that while this is a theory which explains a number of difficulties, it is not without its own problematical aspects. The Ghent Altar, admittedly, is such an "improbable" work that one hesitates to use the concept of "probability" in a discussion of it. Still, there are a few questions which must come to mind immediately. There is the strange role of Jodocus Vyd. What could have induced him, a man who is supposed to have had no previous contact with Hubert, to step in after Hubert's death, buy out all the other patrons, and combine, in the face of evident difficulties, pictures some of which had hardly advanced beyond the preliminary design? One wonders why Panofsky declines even to consider whether Vyd had been connected with any of the "original" projects. One reason, of course, is found in the inscription, which says that the altar was finished at the request (or in Panofsky's translation: at the expense) of Jodocus Vyd. Does a statement which says that a picture was finished for somebody necessarily exclude the possibility that it was also begun for him? Earlier readers of the inscription did not think so, and I believe there is no strong reason for us

to draw that conclusion. Panofsky, however, has other grounds for excluding Vyd. As we have seen, he thinks that the commission for the *Adoration of the Lamb* came from the *échevins* of Ghent. He finds support for that theory in the presence, on the altar, of a hagiographically unwarranted theme, the Just Judges of the lower left wing. Their inclusion was due, he thinks, to a desire of these magistrates to appear in symbolic guise on their own altar. He formulates this theory cautiously, evidently aware of its difficulties. The Just Judges in the Ghent Altar are certainly all princes; two of them, and by no means the most prominent, wear ermine. Within the context of the altar they must signify great rulers who upheld justice, like Solomon and those princes of antiquity and the Middle Ages whose probity was a matter of "historical" record. Yet, while their deeds were often portrayed in town halls (and Panofsky indeed makes a reference here to the category of "Justice pictures"), it would have been somewhat pretentious for the *schepenen* of Ghent to appear in the guise of such great lords, and on horseback, the sure sign of the nobleman. As a matter of fact, Panofsky does not base his thesis on the present appearance of the riders, as he believes them to be largely Jan's work in design as well as execution, but on their "original" appearance which was "conceivably" more that of conventional donors' portraits. Since this conjecture is for the time being beyond any chance of verification, the picture in question having disappeared, we are left with what we see, and that is not favorable to the theory. This is all the more regrettable as nothing would be more welcome than a reliable documentary link between Hubert van Eyck and the Ghent Altar besides the one furnished by the "quaternion."

If we could assume that Vyd had had his foot in the door, so to speak, either as donor of the "upper triptych" or of the "pentaptych," his interest in the estate of Hubert would be more believable, though we still would be faced with the transfer of two projects from other donors to him.

Another question which I believe has never been raised by scholars who claim that the altar was "assembled" from different projects concerns the outside of the wings. If Jan van Eyck, as Panofsky thinks, had "carte blanche" with the reverse of the musical angels as well as that of the four panels of the wings of the pentaptych, it is tacitly assumed that either nothing had been projected for them, or at least that nothing had been begun. This may well have been the case, although the coincidence would be curious; it seems to me unlikely that no plan had been made for the outside at least of the "pentaptych," which in Panofsky's view had been carried further than the angels above. Since we have seen that Jodocus Vyd's patronage is not excluded for any of the presumed original projects, we may ask whether it was not he, after all, with his wife and the two Saint Johns, who had been intended for the decoration of the reverse from the very beginning. No one has ever doubted, I believe, that the execution of these parts is all Jan's. But it is quite possible that the distribution of the figures, and perhaps the design

of trefoil arches, goes back to the very beginning of the work. One of the results of the recent technical examination of the altar might support this view. It has been found that below the present surface the Annunciation panels have a trefoil arch design similar to that found in the panels below (see Paul Coremans et al., *L'Agneau Mystique au laboratoire*, Antwerp, 1953, pl. LXII). Panofsky assumes that Jan had originally planned the whole outside of the altar as a "kind of two-storey façade" of simulated niches. It does not seem very likely that Jan would have conceived of this idea (which indeed would have made the discrepancies of the sizes of the panels more painfully noticeable) unless the design had been given to him by the lower panels in no matter how preliminary a manner of execution.

The threads of evidence which we hold in our hands—as so frequently in historical research—are so thin, and our resulting ignorance of what really happened is so great that we must always ponder the question of whether there could have been another sequence of events. Assuming that there was such a radical change of plan as that postulated by Panofsky, what evidence do we have that this change was only conceived after Hubert's death? The idea of mounting Ossa upon Pelion may have come to Jodocus Vyd before. Hubert may still have been in part responsible for the strange structure of the whole, without having planned it so from the start. We may also reflect on Vyd's relation to Jan. While it is true, as Panofsky says, that there is no evidence for Vyd's having had any contact with Hubert, there is even less for contact with Jan, except for the inscription. Why did the Ghent patrician who probably knew Hubert, a painter settled in Ghent, turn to Jan van Eyck, a traveling court artist who since 1429 had been settled in Bruges? That Jan was Hubert's brother does not suffice for an answer. Is it not likely that there had been some previous contacts between Vyd and Jan, and that Vyd must have felt confident that Jan was the best man to continue his brother's work? Did he know this because Jan had been no stranger to Hubert's studio?

Friedländer quoted the advice of his teacher Ludwig Scheibler never to occupy himself with the distinction of hands in the Ghent Altar. Neither Friedländer nor any of the later scholars who plowed the field, including Panofsky, have heeded the advice. The last scholars who made an attempt at the problem came up with very different results. Tolnay gave the center to Hubert and the wings—both sides of them—to Jan, a solution as neat as it is unlikely. Beenken gave to Hubert only parts of the landscape and the small groups of Virgins and Confessors in the *Adoration of the Lamb*, and possibly the design of the kneeling figures; all the rest, including the larger figures above, he attributed to Jan. Baldass' division is too complicated to be summarized here but it might be mentioned that he gave the conception of the *Annunciation* on the outside to Hubert. Panofsky, as has been mentioned before, gives the three large figures above (except for the crown) to Hubert. He sees Hubert's hand also in certain sections of the lower triptych: in the fountain

and the figures kneeling around it; in the figures behind the Apostles and the Prophets, though they may have been retouched by Jan; and in the foreground figures of the right wing panels, with the exception of St. Mary Magdalen and St. Mary of Egypt who, as X-ray evidence has shown, were added later, presumably by Jan. (Panofsky takes well-justified satisfaction in having suspected in his articles on the Friedsam *Annunciation* that, if anywhere, traces of two hands should be found in the right wing panels, exactly where considerable alterations were uncovered by X-rays.) He credits Hubert also with the general plan for the central panel but attributes to Jan the landscape of the background. On the other hand, some landscape elements, revealed by X-ray to be at variance with what appears on the surface, are claimed for Hubert. The author assumes, however, that in many places their individual contributions can no longer be separated from each other because of Jan's reworking. Panofsky's division of the *Adoration of the Lamb* resembles that of Beenken (both authors perhaps working under the influence of Dvořák), but what Beenken calls the only discernible work of Hubert, the groups of the Virgins and Confessors, are "simon-pure Jan" for Panofsky.

I am not quite clear how the author resolves the problem of the Dove, which has been shown to be heavily repainted and which Coremans considers "Eyckian, but originally absent" from the altar. While he accepts this view, Panofsky explains Jan's addition of the crown as an insertion to "bridge the empty expanse between the feet of the Lord and the Dove underneath." When, and for what reason, the Dove was painted remains obscure. I might mention in this connection that both Baldass (in his book on Jan van Eyck) and Pächt (in his review of that book, *The Burlington Magazine*, xcv, 1953, pp. 249ff.) stress the intimate iconographic connection between the three large figures above and the *Adoration of the Lamb* below. They are agreed in considering it iconographically "unthinkable" that the latter could have been planned without the figures shown in the former.

Despite the obvious difficulties, Panofsky believes that Hubert emerges from the Ghent Altar with sufficient clarity to be characterized as a master "less modern, cosmopolitan and polished than Jan yet less bourgeois, provincial, and 'tough-minded' than the Master of Flémalle." His perspectives, as in the fountain of the Ghent Altar, are "archaically over-emphatic" and space is for him a "foiling background rather than an all-enveloping medium." Despite his confident characterization of Hubert's style, Panofsky attributes to him only two other pictures, the Friedsam *Annunciation* in New York and the *Three Marys* from the Cook Collection, now in the Van Beuningen Collection at Vierhouten. The latter painting, indeed, is given to Hubert only with qualifications, since the sky, the skyline, the angel, and the fat soldier in the center reveal "the supervening hand of Jan." Thus all we have of the artist *major quo nemo repertus*, besides what he did in the Ghent Altar, is one painting in a damaged and curtailed condition and another of which nearly half was done by his brother. This would be

less disturbing if at least those parts of the two pictures which the author calls Hubert's were clearly by the same hand, and equally clearly connected with the "Hubert" section of the Ghent Altar. There are similarities in the treatment of some trees and plants. The figures, however, look to me rather different. Those of the *Annunciation* are short and stocky; their gowns stress weight, mass, stability. The *Three Marys* are slender and fragile, and not even the soldiers are rooted on the ground as firmly as the angel and the Virgin in the New York picture. Of the two, I should say that the Friedsam *Annunciation* is closer to the Ghent Altar, but I am far from admitting any clear identity of style between it and the so-called Hubert sections.

Like Friedländer before him, but in contrast to a majority of *Eyck-Forscher*, Panofsky attributes the Hand G miniatures of the Turin-Milan *Book of Hours* and the works connected with them, such as the New York diptych, the lost *Bearing of the Cross*, and the lost *Adoration of the Magi*, to Jan rather than to Hubert van Eyck. Most people, I am sure, will welcome his strong stand against the old but not yet abandoned notion that these were the works of Ouwater (Dvořák, Tolnay) or of another, anonymous painter of the 1430's (Baldass). Yet his unqualified attribution to Jan, supported as it is by a very detailed and closely reasoned demonstration (in which he rather prettily makes use of a scholastic method of argumentation) again raises a number of questions.

The questions are these: How uniform is this group of works and what is their relationship to other works in "Eyckian" style not given to Jan by Panofsky? How are they related to the known *œuvre* of Jan? What do they contribute to our understanding of the Ghent Altar?

In answer to the first question I feel, as others have before me, that the miniature of the Finding of the Cross can under no circumstances be accepted as a work of Hand G. It has nothing of the witty, agile, incredibly imaginative style of the other miniatures; essentially old-fashioned, its master accepts some of the trimmings of the works of the main artist without understanding the principles which give them their modernity and attraction. It must be the work of another, inferior, hand. Nor is it, I believe, the only piece known by this master. The Berlin drawing of the *Adoration of the Magi*, or the original on which it is based (the composition of which, as I have mentioned before, is not as novel as Panofsky thinks) could very well be a work of the same hand. I believe one could even defend the addition of the *Three Marys* in Vierhouten to this group. The mixture of styles which caused the author to assume a partial reworking by Jan of a painting by Hubert might actually indicate a master near to, but different from, both. The profile of the kneeling woman is almost a mirror image of the face of the youngest king in the Berlin drawing. Trailing gowns and pointed and fancifully curling hats are some of the features that all these works share. That the Vierhouten painting might be neither by Hubert nor by Jan was suggested by Schöne (*Jahrbuch der*

Preuss. Kunstsammlungen, LVIII, 1937, p. 156), who stressed particularly the unstable character of the town view. The same master may finally have been responsible for the prototype of the *Fountain of Life* (Prado, and now also Oberlin) regarding which I agree with Panofsky that it was a composition established not later than 1420 and not necessarily by Hubert (note 203').

Since the Hand H miniatures have always played a certain role in these discussions, I hasten to say that I follow the author unhesitatingly when he eliminates them from the race as the works of a follower of Jan van Eyck. I should like, however, to except the miniature of The Lord Enthroned (unfortunately part of the destroyed set), which, judging from the reproductions, appears to have been superior to the other Hand H miniatures and may well have been the work of Hand G.

What is left I consider a very homogeneous group: the miniatures of Hand G, the New York diptych, and the lost *Bearing of the Cross*. I am not so sure as Panofsky that the Berlin *Crucifixion* should be eliminated as a pastiche; with other scholars, I am inclined to leave it in the group under discussion.

The master of this group of works is one of the great artists of the early Flemish school. It was Friedländer who said that if his name was not either Hubert or Jan van Eyck, that name has been made famous by mistake. Panofsky sees them as the *juvenilia* of Jan and he must have thought of them when he wrote that Jan, in his mature phase "relegated the dynamic elements to the background." Still, it is not easy to recognize the painter whose "principal characters are nearly motionless, communicating with each other only by virtue of spiritual consubstantiality" in works of such unrestrained emotionalism as the New York diptych, or to identify the Jan van Eyck of the solemn, symmetrical pictures of the 1430's with the bold and lively storyteller of the Hand G miniatures. I do not mean to say that it is impossible. Jan van Eyck may have had this range, and Panofsky establishes a fair number of analogies between his works and those of this group. Needless to say that Jan's whole personality assumes a very different aspect if he was the author of these works. The brief section at the end of this chapter in which the author in part rewrites his characterization of Jan (explaining that the "tranquil temper of Jan's later years . . . resulted from the rigorous control, and not from the absence, of passion") is hardly sufficient to explain the change from an exuberantly lively youth to an icily cool manhood.

Panofsky's chief arguments against the attribution of the group to Hubert are two: first, that Hubert had, as far as is known, no contact with the Holland-Bavaria house, and secondly, that no connections of style or motif lead from these works to Hubert's. The first argument draws conclusions from the absence of positive evidence. It should be remembered, however, that we know nothing at all about Hubert's career before 1424-1425. If he was an artist of repute—and unless we discredit the inscription of the Ghent Altar completely, he must have been one—it stands to reason

that he had an artistic career long before he began work on the altar. This could just as well have been at a court as in a Flemish town; we simply do not know. With regard to the second argument it must be said that not much of a comparison can be made with "Hubert's *œuvre*" if that *œuvre* consists of no more than what Panofsky allows—some of which is attributed to the master without any strong evidence and is in part, as I just pointed out, highly questionable.

In addition, it is not even true that there are no connections between the Hand G group and the work of Hubert, at least that part of it which Panofsky leaves to him in the Ghent Altar. There are heads in the jostling crowd under the crosses in the New York diptych which strongly resemble heads of Apostles, Pilgrims, and Hermits in Ghent (Figs. 4-7). We find the same profile views (and it should be remembered that the rendering of strict profile views is *not* a characteristic of Jan) with hanging noses, heavy, protruding lower lips, thick eyelids, straggly hair. The interest in slightly grotesque physiognomies and facial distortion for the sake of expression is found here as well as there. That the concept of space in the New York diptych and in the lost *Bearing of the Cross* has strong analogies with that of the *Adoration of the Lamb* (the plan of which Panofsky, too, attributes to Hubert) has often been observed.

If we were to formulate theoretically what we would expect works of Hubert van Eyck to look like, we would say that they should be sufficiently similar to those of Jan to be credited to an artist closely related to him by family ties and by what most likely was a similar schooling, yet sufficiently dissimilar to allow their attribution to a different individual. We would furthermore demand that these works should have some recognizable connection with those parts of the Ghent Altar which appear to have been done first. I could not imagine any group of works to fill this bill of particulars better than those which have been assembled around Hand G. The similarities which Panofsky observes between this group and Jan's known *œuvre* and which he accounts for by actually attributing them to Jan could just as well be accounted for by an influence of Hubert upon Jan. And in assigning the name of Hubert to this group of works we would not only have the satisfaction of finding in our corner the grand old man of Belgian art history, Georges Hulin de Loo (a *Gentenaer* himself) but also of having vindicated the sense of the inscription on the Ghent Altar—which would hardly seem justified by the *œuvre* which Panofsky leaves to Hubert. On the other hand, if we assume that it was Hubert and not Jan who painted the Hand G group, we face the question of whether there are any real *juvenilia* by Jan. Recently Otto Pächt (*The Burlington Magazine*, xcv, 1953, pp. 249f.) has introduced into the discussion a drawing in Nuremberg, showing a Madonna and Saints, which might supply at least a partial answer. While obviously a work of the later fifteenth century, this drawing appears to have been copied from an original of about 1420 which could very well have been painted by Jan van Eyck, as Pächt suggests.

All this, of course, is as hypothetical as the opposite view. Maybe Scheibler was right in advising against the effort to distinguish the two hands. How can we be sure that the two brothers were not really indistinguishable? We do not even know for certain that Hubert, as is always taken for granted, was the older of the two. Maybe they were an artistic Tweedledee and Tweedledum working in close harmony until one of them died and the survivor developed his own personality in the way we know it. I do not think that this is the way it was, but then again stranger things are known to have happened.

Having strayed considerably from the duties of a reviewer I hasten to get back on the track and to mention that the chapter on "Hubert or Jan van Eyck" is not concerned exclusively with the division of hands. It is full of revealing stylistic and iconographic side lights. I want to single out the author's commentary on the advanced appearance of many Eyckian *bas-de-page* designs which he explains as resulting from a development specifically belonging to the *bas-de-page* tradition; his explanation of the standing woman in the foreground of the New York *Crucifixion* as the Erythrean Sibyl, the only one whose prophecy "refers to

both the Life and Passion of Christ and the Last Judgment";¹ the identification of the woman crossing the mouth of the river with St. Julian, in the manuscript formerly in Turin, as Julian's wife (not St. Martha); and finally his quotation of a fourteenth century text, found by Dr. Heckscher, describing a situation exactly like that shown in the *bas-de-page* of the former Turin manuscript where a procession of Virgins follows the lamb, thus invalidating one of the arguments for the post-Eyckian origin of the miniatures.

The last chapter dedicated to a single artist is that on Rogier, whose greatness, like Jan van Eyck's, is attested in contemporary texts. When Nicolaus Cusanus in his *De Visione Dei* compares the all-seeing eye of God to eyes painted by artists in such a way that they seem to follow the beholder everywhere, he cites a self-portrait of that *maximus pictor* Rogier van der Weyden. The same Facius who around 1455-1457 praised Jan van Eyck also introduced *Rogierius Gallicus* among his famous artists.

Panofsky's contribution to our knowledge of this master is threefold. As with Jan van Eyck, he gives

¹ On a previous occasion (ART BULLETIN, XXXI, 1949, p. 141) I expressed the theory that this woman (who once, incidentally, was thought to be a portrait of Margaret van Eyck) is a donor's portrait. At the risk of being stubborn I should like to state that I am not ready to abandon this thought, even though I am completely convinced that Panofsky is right in identifying her with the Erythrean Sibyl. One of Panofsky's arguments against calling her a donor is what he terms the "ironclad" rule that donors kneel and pray. Yet donors are not infrequently inserted in other ways. The donors of Dirk Bouts' *Last Supper*, as J. G. van Gelder has convincingly demonstrated, are shown standing in the room or looking in through the kitchen-window (*Oud Holland*, LXVI, 1951, pp. 51-52). In Petrus Christus' *Lamentation* in Brussels, a man who can only be a donor stands at the right. While we can not be sure whether Pierre de Ranchicourt (whom Panofsky identified) or Jean Chevrot was the donor of Rogier's Sacrament Altar in Antwerp, neither of them is in the traditional donor's pose, and the latter, as a matter of fact, plays an active role in one of the sacraments. In Geertgen's Vienna *Lamentation* Panofsky suspects that the old canon standing near the group of holy mourners was a man who "more likely than not contributed to the expense of the work." And it was Panofsky, after all, who suggested that the Just Judges in the Ghent Altar may originally have been planned as disguised portraits of the Ghent *échevins* who supposedly had given Hubert van Eyck the commission for that part of the work. Thus it seems by no means impossible that the woman who stands so emphatically alone and who is so strikingly characterized as an individual may be both a sibyl and a donor.

There are two candidates for identification. One is the famous and much-married Jacqueline, the daughter of William IV of Holland. What speaks in her favor is the general physiognomic resemblance of the woman in the New York picture to what is known about Jacqueline's appearance from various, admittedly derivative, portrait sources. (Panofsky apparently does not accept Glück's identification of the Frankfurt drawing as Jacqueline. I find that the two independent types preserved in a painting in Vienna and another one in Copenhagen lend considerable weight to this theory.)

Against this identification speaks the age of the model. No matter whether Jan or Hubert painted the picture it could hardly have been done much later than 1420. At that time Jacqueline was only nineteen, and during the early 1420's she

was, besides, absent from the Netherlands and hence not likely to appear as the donor of such a painting. The second candidate is Jacqueline's aunt, Margaret, the sister of William of Bavaria and the wife of Jean sans Peur. Margaret was born in 1385 and died in 1426. It is precisely to the period of her widowhood that one would like to assign the painting, on general stylistic grounds. Margaret was then about 35 to 40 years old, an age that agrees well with the lean and strong, but no longer youthful features of the "Sibyl." A portrait of Margaret is found in de Sucka's *Memoriaux* in Brussels.

While there is no more to this identification than a "hunch," I feel that the New York diptych assumes a new and not altogether unwelcome significance if we connect it with Margaret of Bavaria as a commission given to the artist shortly after the death of her husband. Many scholars have been struck by the "portrait-like" quality of several of the characters under the Cross, even to the extent of identifying them with such men as the Duc de Berry and the brothers van Eyck. Yet it is inconceivable that a respected character could have been placed among the enemies of Christ. If Margaret of Bavaria was the donor, however, it would have made sense to put the instigators or the perpetrators of the crime of Montereau in such company. The unusually large space and the emphasis given to the torture of the Damned would also be understandable, just as the elaborate and ceremonious reception of the Elect in heaven. And if Margaret is indeed rendered in the guise of the solitary Sibyl who alone of all the sibyls is connected with both Christ's Passion and the Last Judgment, what could have been more meaningful than her quiet contemplation of the Virgin, as cruelly bereft as she had been herself?

There is a little enigma within this larger riddle. The young prince in the first rank of the temporal rulers admitted to heaven lacks a leg. It does not seem to be a matter of loss of paint by abrasion. He was painted with one leg and the stump of another. Was there a prince in the Burgundian or Bavarian dynasties who had lost a leg? (We have to assume that the artist intended to identify him thus despite the promise of bodily re-integration of the Elect, no matter how far apart their limbs had been buried.) The answer might provide a clue to the date of the picture which would be welcome at any rate, and particularly with regard to the theory proposed here.

some unforgettable formulations to describe Rogier's style. He also analyzes the often complex iconography of Rogier's works, in which modernism and mediaeval traditions enter into a fascinating partnership. He finally makes detailed critical observations which help to clarify the extent of the *œuvre* and its chronology. It is this section which I think offers some grounds for objections.

From the biographical section at the beginning of the chapter I should like to single out the author's confidence in Rogier's "self-portrait" in the Bern tapestry, particularly as Beenken in his recent book on Rogier (1951) declined to accept these tapestries as relatively faithful reproductions of the lost pictures of Justice which Rogier painted for the Brussels Town Hall. (An article by Panofsky on the whole problem of Rogier's portraits and self-portraits to which he refers the reader several times in his book, but which had not appeared when it went into production, has just come out in *Late Classical and Mediaeval Studies in Honor of Albert Mathias Friend, Jr.*, Princeton, 1955, pp. 392ff.)

The general characterization of Rogier's art follows Friedländer's in many ways, except that Panofsky eliminates or modifies Friedländer's stress on Rogier's intellectual coldness and his description of Rogier's figures as thin, morose ("grämlich"), and weak-kneed. From Friedländer's words one is apt to get the impression that Rogier's characters are not only dehydrated physically but also blighted emotionally. Like aged actors they go through standardized and limited rituals without much conviction. Panofsky gives back to them human dignity, a degree of spontaneity and sincerity of feeling, without overlooking the fact that much of this emotional expression of theirs is rooted in old traditions. Furthermore, whereas Friedländer, conscious of the subtlety of Jan van Eyck's pictorial style, misses in Rogier's work "den kontinuierlichen Fluss des farbigen Zusammenspiels," Panofsky sees that artistic coherence is achieved by a new device, namely *rhythm*, "definable as that by which movement is articulated without a loss of continuity." He gives a very different and much richer description than Friedländer of Rogier's "linearism" when he speaks of the "luminary significance" of the lines from which the picture derives a "purely graphic beauty and expressiveness."

Rogier's known activity extends over more than thirty years but scholars encounter considerable difficulties with him, too, when it comes to tracing his development. The difficulties stem in part from the fact that not a single one of Rogier's extant pictures carries a date (indeed, none is even signed), and only a few can be reliably dated on documentary grounds. The more serious reason, however, lies in the surprising unity of Rogier's style. It may be due to my own lack of perceptiveness, but I find it more difficult than Panofsky to distinguish clear stylistic phases. The poles of Rogier's style are nearer to each other than those of any other great post-mediaeval artist I can think of. Whatever development there was must have been very gradual and is bound to be interpreted differently depending on the criteria applied to it.

That does not mean that the great outlines of

Rogier's development are hard to see; the situation becomes troublesome only when it comes to fixing the chronology of the works more precisely. If we compare Beenken's book, which appeared shortly before Panofsky's and too late to be used by him, we see that both authors share the broader concepts of Rogierian chronology while disagreeing frequently in individual cases both with regard to the absolute as well as the relative date. Thus the little *Madonna* in the Thyssen Collection, dated 1430-1432 by Panofsky (which means that it must have been done while Rogier was still in Campin's studio), is placed ca. 1440 by Beenken. The Philadelphia *Crucifixion*, on the other hand, is dated ca. 1450 by Beenken, while Panofsky assigns it to the period of 1455-1459. Yet even when the two authors agree with each other, I am not certain that they have found the true date in all cases. Thus both accept the very early date for the *Madonna with St. Luke*, which Winkler also championed. That there is in this picture an influence of Jan van Eyck and more specifically of the *Madonna* of Chancellor Rolin is obvious. This does not of course prove anything for the date, since there are Eyckian influences in Rogier's work at various periods. Nor is it necessary to account for this influence by the assumption that Rogier stayed in Bruges between 1432 and 1435. Rogier could easily have seen the picture, which after all was in Rolin's private possession, at a later date. Needless to say, the painting of the *Madonna with St. Luke* in its turn cannot be adduced as evidence in support of such an early stay in Bruges, since that would practically amount to arguing in circles. Rogier actually seems to have been in Bruges at one time to execute some works there (Dürer speaks of "Rudigers gemalte Kapellen") but we have no way of telling when it was.

Panofsky's date for the Rolin *Madonna* is 1433-1434; his date for Rogier's *Madonna with St. Luke* is 1434-1435. We are thus forced to assume that within one year of Jan's work Rogier received a commission which gave him an opportunity to adopt Jan's compositional pattern while subjecting it at the same time to a very thorough and highly personal transformation, and all this in Bruges, under Jan's very eyes, as it were. Anything is of course possible, but unless we are forced by evidence to accept such a situation, I should prefer to go by probability, which in this case seems to speak against it. It should not be forgotten that we cannot even be sure that the *Madonna* of Chancellor Rolin was done in 1433-1434; it has been dated later by some scholars; Hulin de Loo, for instance, dated it ca. 1435, as did Meiss (*The Burlington Magazine*, xciv, 1952, p. 142).

In defense of an early date for the *Madonna of St. Luke* both Panofsky and Beenken stress the "Eyckian" tonality of the work. Panofsky speaks of a "mild diffused light" and Beenken points to the "softness of modeling and the atmospheric quality of the light, hazy distances." These statements can only refer to the Boston version which indeed seems to be much softer in treatment than most works of Rogier. This effect, I fear, is due less to the artist's intent than to abrasion of the surface. The panel, which I still hold to be

Rogier's original, has lost much of its first crispness, not to mention the changes due to considerable restorations. There is surely no Eyckian character in the type of the Virgin, or of the Child. Nor are these figures any closer to the Master of Flémalle, and I see considerable differences even in a comparison with other "early" works of Rogier, such as the Vienna and Thyssen Madonnas, the Lützschena *Visitation* and the Louvre *Annunciation*, the latter a special case to which I shall return. The Virgin's type of beauty is more familiar in later works, as is the stiff, long Child with its curious "gothic" eyes. It is perhaps not accidental that the influence of Rogier's *St. Luke*, which was considerable, is not felt before the middle of the century. (The Boutsian painting in Penrhyn Castle which Miss Klein unexplainably dated "about 1440" is surely much later and can certainly not be used to support an early date for Rogier's *St. Luke*.) The theme is found before only in miniatures. I am not quite convinced by the theory, very tentatively proposed by Miss Klein and more confidently accepted by Panofsky, that Colyn de Coter's *Madonna with St. Luke* in Vieuve reflects a lost composition by the Master of Flémalle; the procedure of painting directly from the posing model seen in that work impresses me more as belonging to the late fifteenth or early sixteenth century than to the early fifteenth.

All things considered, I believe a date after 1440, in the first years of that decade, is preferable to the very early one.

In Panofsky's chronology, a large body of works was executed by Rogier between 1434 and 1440; it includes the Louvre *Annunciation*, the Escorial *Descent from the Cross*, the London *Magdalen* (once part of a large altar), the *Madonna Duran* in the Prado (also but a remnant of a larger project), the Granada and the Miraflores Altars, the lost *Examples of Justice* (a very large undertaking which may well have been begun around 1436, since the date 1439, which a seventeenth century visitor read on them, could only have referred to the date of completion at least of the first section), and the Vienna triptych ("about or shortly after 1440"). A similar accumulation of major works in one lustrum occurs again between 1450 and 1455. Here we find the Uffizi *Entombment*, the Frankfurt "Medici" *Madonna*, the Braque triptych, the Bladelin Altar, the St. John triptych, and the Seven Sacrament Altar, plus several portraits and Madonnas in half-length. The 1440's by contrast are relatively bare of works. If we exclude the Vienna triptych, Panofsky has only one major work in that central decade of Rogier's activity, the Beaune Last Judgment, which he thinks was "in progress by 1446." He fills this vacuum by referring to several lost compositions, but with the exception of the Carmelite *Madonna* of 1446 none of these pictures necessarily dates from the forties. (Beenken tried to fill a similar gap by assigning the Escorial *Descent* to the years 1439-1443).

In the group of later works, the Bladelin Altar seems at first sight to be one of the best-dated pieces. The church of Middelburg from which it comes was

begun in 1452 and consecrated in 1460, so that there are eight years at one's disposal, provided the altar was indeed commissioned for the church. That, however, is by no means certain. Friedländer said not without reason that the construction of the church does not furnish clear proof for the date of the altar-piece; it could have been painted earlier and transferred to the church afterwards. That it was not meant for the main altar of the church would appear likely, less from its intimate scale than from the fact that St. Peter, to whom the church was dedicated, does not figure anywhere in it. Furthermore, the foundation of the town and church of Middelburg was a joint enterprise by Bladelin and his wife, to compensate for a childless marriage; one would have expected that Bladelin's wife would at least figure as a donor on the altar of the church. Most important, it seems to me, is the question of Bladelin's age. The date of his birth, unfortunately, is unknown, but from the fact that he occupied a high administrative office in 1436 and was made chief tax collector for Philip the Good in 1442 one would deduce that he must have been born not much later than the very first years of the fifteenth century (see also *Biographie Nationale de Belgique*, II, 1868, pp. 445ff.). As he appears in the Berlin Altar, Bladelin is an ascetic but still youthful-looking man who might well be less than forty. In view of these considerations a date in the late forties is not only compatible with, but even rendered likely by the historical facts. Since Bladelin's castle of Middelburg was begun in 1448, there is a strong possibility that the altar was done for the chapel of the castle and taken to the church only at a later date—perhaps only after the death of the donors. Thus the Bladelin Altar would not be too far removed chronologically from the *Madonna with St. Luke* and the Granada Altar, with which it shares some stylistic affinities.

It is evident that even minor changes of date of this kind might affect dates assigned to other pieces as well. That would not mean, however, the collapse of Panofsky's chronological scaffolding as a whole. The St. John Altar, for instance, does not have to share the back-dating of the Bladelin Altar. The Braque triptych, too, seems to be safely anchored in the early fifties (although Hulin de Loo doubted even that), and Panofsky's date for the Sacrament Altar has been rendered very plausible by his identification of the personages who appear in it. With the Columba Altar and the large, lost Cambrai Altar there still remain many first-rank works for the sixth decade.

The appraisal of Rogier's stylistic development, on the other hand, might have to be reviewed. Taking the liberty of condensing Panofsky's views (somewhat analogous to those of Hulin de Loo in *Biographie Nationale de Belgique*, xxvii, 1938, pp. 222ff.), into a few sentences, I should say that Rogier's development, as he sees it, begins with a Flémallian phase, quickly followed by, and fused with, an Eyckian influence. In the late thirties begins a trend from "sensual vitality" to "austere unworldliness," culminating in the Beaune Altar in a style of "almost ascetic purity." In the 1450's, after the experience of Italian art, and

largely caused by it, there is a stylistic *adoucissement* (a term borrowed from Hulin de Loo), accompanied by a nostalgic "recrudescence" of Eyckian and Flémalle elements. Rogier reverts to "richer colors and softer light"; space is expanded and "liquefied." With the Columba Altar, Rogier achieves his *ultima maniera* of a "complete harmony between surface pattern and organization in depth, line and volume, stability and movement, symmetry and asymmetry."

If the *Madonna of St. Luke* belongs, as I propose, to the early forties, and the Bladelin Altar to the late forties, it follows that this decade can no longer be seen under the sign of "austere" and "ascetic" qualities alone. (It should be remembered that the most austere and ascetic portraits belong to the period around 1460; there is still a good deal of "sensuous vitality" in the Rockefeller portrait which Panofsky, probably correctly, dates ca. 1445.)

I wonder also if the significance for Rogier's development of every demonstrable influence of Jan van Eyck and the master of Flémalle has not been exaggerated by the author. Both Jan van Eyck and the Master of Flémalle were the great teachers of Rogier in a general sense, his "Bildungsmächte," to use a fitting German expression. He could not have avoided revealing his debt to them even if he had wanted to. As it is, I think that he availed himself freely of their ideas at all times, just as he took from Italy what suited his fancy, doing it always with the supreme confidence of the great master in his own powers of transformation. I cannot believe that the Flémalle-recollections found in the Bladelin Altar reveal "a secret longing [of the aging Rogier] for his youth." The "nostalgia" of the 1450's is an interesting psychological idea but I really cannot see any evidence for it anywhere.

Panofsky is a rather severe but fair-minded judge when it comes to distinguishing the works of Rogier from those of followers and imitators. He excludes the Berlin *Crucifixion* which I once mistakenly gave to Rogier (ART BULLETIN, XXII, 1940, p. 42) from the *œuvres* of both the Master of Flémalle and of Rogier. After some hesitation I have also come to accept his verdict ("studio-assistant") for the Abegg (formerly Turin) Altar, though I would like to credit at least the invention of the remarkable right wing to Rogier himself. (While admitting the fatal similarity of the standing woman with the Magdalen of the Seven Sacrament Altar, I still cannot see how the Abegg Altar could be dated later than the 1440's; there may have been a type similar to the Magdalen in an earlier, now lost, painting by Rogier.) Panofsky is surely right in excluding the *Dream of Pope Sergius* and the *Exhumation of St. Hubert*. The near-affectation of the Virgin in the Cluny *Annunciation* of the Metropolitan Museum is foreign to Rogier, and the author may well be right in excluding his authorship even of the design; his tentative attribution of the picture to Memling, however, seems to me unacceptable. That Memling might have executed the Hague *Lamentation* Panofsky has stated in these pages before (xxxiii, 1951, p. 40). The Hague panel belongs to the category of pictures

which Panofsky thinks were designed either wholly or in part by Rogier but executed by other hands. Like Voll (whose critical statements he accepts more than once) he also credits an assistant with the execution of the Seven Sacrament Altar in Antwerp. I do not see any evidence in the picture itself for this view, nor do I believe that it is likely, given the rank and position of the donor. The several heads which were repainted at a later date should be cleaned or at least X-rayed, so that we may know whether original heads by Rogier are there.

I share the doubts expressed by various scholars regarding the Louvre *Annunciation*, which Panofsky considers "eigenhändig." I am puzzled by the empty-handedness of the angel. It is not so much that he has none of his normal attributes such as scroll, scepter, or lily; the angel in the Mérode Altar also has nothing in his hands, but there, as one would expect, the right hand makes the "telling" gesture while the left rests on the knee. In the Paris *Annunciation*, the left hand carries the message and thus would be elevated above the right unless the latter carried some sign of dignity. This is indeed what one would expect from the position of the fingers, and I wonder whether originally the composition showed the angel with an object in his right hand. The Miraflores Altar is blatantly inferior in craftsmanship to the Granada Altar, as a close study of the New York panel and its Berlin counterpart proved to me a few years ago; Rogier surely had no hand in its execution. Panofsky has no doubts regarding the large Escorial *Crucifixion*. Indeed, like the Columba Altar, it is for him a veritable climax of Rogier's *ultima maniera*, reminding him of Michelangelo. The work has an unimpeachable provenance and it is heresy to suggest that not all of it might be by Rogier; yet its very power, particularly the dynamic pose of the St. John, is unique in Rogier's work. A modeling as broad and simplified as that of John's head, for instance, would mean such a radical departure from everything Rogier had done before that I cannot believe that the aged master could have taken this step. It is one of the most urgent tasks in the field of early Flemish painting that the complete records of the recent restoration of the work, possibly with the inclusion of X-ray photos, be made public. Until then little more can be done than to register some doubt.

Panofsky reserves a special section for the Madonnas in half-length and the portraits which were sometimes combined with them in diptychs. In contrast to van Eyck's portraits, which are "studies in individuality" Panofsky calls those of Rogier "studies in character," i.e., reflections of the interaction of individual and society. He must admit, however, that there is little "variety of character" in Rogier's portraits; almost all his models appear to be "members of one aristocratic family, all distinguished looking, well-bred and consciously, almost self-consciously, self-possessed," which they of course were as members of the Burgundian court society. What is more difficult to see is Panofsky's contention that this formalism and comparative uniformity "subtly strengthens [Rogier's] power of characterization." It takes some effort to read a "smolder-

ing excitability" in the features of the lady in the Washington portrait or to discover Charles the Bold's "suspicious, friendless, even cruel yet somehow noble and sensitive nature" in his portrait in Berlin. Chronologically the portrait of G. Fillastre comes first; Panofsky dates it for good reasons in 1436, and he communicates what is the most likely interpretation of the motto, "Je he ce que mord" (I hate that which I sting), which appears in a design of prickly holly-leaves on its back. The *Man in Prayer* of the Metropolitan Museum (where it goes as a work of the Master of Flémalle!) comes next; Panofsky suspects that the picture—which seems to have suffered considerably—was cut from a larger donor-portrait. (The Philadelphia *Portrait of a Man*, attributed there to Jan van Eyck and excluded by Panofsky as "non-Eyckian" may be, or may reflect, a Rogier portrait of this period.) The lovely portrait of a woman, in Berlin, whose connection with the *Madonna of St. Luke* Panofsky noted, should, I feel, follow the date assigned to that picture and hence be advanced from about 1435 to about 1440 or slightly later. Very acceptable is Panofsky's suggestion that the Rockefeller portrait of Isabella of Portugal was transformed into a "Sibylla Persica" only in the sixteenth century.

All other portraits date after 1450. The Brussels *Young Man with Arrow* cannot be before 1456, no matter whether he is the Grand Bâtard of Burgundy or, as has recently been suggested rather temptingly, João de Coimbra, since both princes were made members of the Order of the Golden Fleece only in that year (see José Cortez, "Infantes de Avis," *Belas Artes*, Lisbon, No. 4, 1952, pp. 8ff.). The arrow, unexplained by Panofsky, is surely not a reference to an archer's guild as has been proposed, but more probably a chivalrous symbol of an amorous nature; "Prince" Cupid himself carries a single large arrow in fifteenth century renderings, and it is surely not meaningless in the Brussels picture that the arrow points in the direction of the heart and is held in that position by the young man's hand. Of the three diptychs, Panofsky deals rather roughly with the one of the fat young Jean Gros, deservedly so as far as the Madonna is concerned (if genuine at all, she must owe most of her looks to a modern restorer). To say, however, that in the small Chicago panel Rogier might have left "more than his usual share of work to his assistants" is carrying a physiognomic aversion too far.

The discussion of the various half-length Madonnas gives Panofsky the opportunity to speak of the fascinating case of *Notre-Dame de Grâces* in Cambrai, an Italo-Byzantine work which from 1454 on was popularized through many copies as a work of St. Luke himself. Although Panofsky does not say so specifically, it seems possible that the sudden interest in half-length Madonnas—a rare theme in Flemish art before—is connected with the veneration of that image. Its influence on Rogier is seen not only in the archetype of the Houston *Madonna* (which in turn became the fountainhead of many copies, among them such by Bouts and by the *Maître de St. Gilles*) but also in the one in Donaueschingen, and the frequent repetitions

in half-length of Rogier's own *Madonna of St. Luke* could well have been prompted by the same trend.

If I have said little about Panofsky's iconographic interpretations of Rogier's paintings it is not because they are negligible. On the contrary, much of the real meat of the chapter on Rogier lies in the sections on iconography. For the first time, to my knowledge, the intricate meaning and novelty of the Granada Altar have been analyzed in all details. The "heart-rending motif of the last kiss" is traced from its Byzantine origins into Rogier's *Lamentation*. His use of and his "transcendence" of all iconographic sources are found even more strikingly in the *Appearance of Christ to his Mother*, where "the significance of the *Ostentatio vulnerum* is qualified by the spirit of the *Noli me tangere*." Rogier also was the first, in the Louvre painting, to characterize the room of the Annunciation as the *thalamus Virginis* by the conspicuous display of the bed.

There are novel features in the Vienna *Crucifixion* also. The inclusion of donors in the drama was perhaps less "audacious" than Panofsky maintains, but the flying ends of Christ's loin-cloth and the idea of the Virgin embracing the Cross are indeed striking inventions of the master. Of all of Panofsky's interpretations I found his discussion of the Beaune *Last Judgment* particularly admirable. In a truly brilliant analysis he shows how certain High Gothic ideas were revived by Rogier but also how the artist infused into the old patterns a "modern" and highly personal feeling. By eliminating, for instance, the demons of mediaeval renderings of the theme, Rogier suggests that "the chief torture of the Damned is not so much physical pain as a perpetual and intolerably sharpened consciousness of their state." And while in his rendering of the weighing of the souls Rogier followed the mediaeval custom of pitting the "sins" against the "virtues," he let the virtues "rise" in the scales, satisfying a general human distinction in value between "above" and "below" but suggesting also with tragic clarity that "the sum total of evil 'outweighs' the sum total of good."

The Uffizi *Entombment*, according to Panofsky, ought to be called a "Last Farewell." Even without the well-known dependence on Fra Angelico's Munich picture, the painting would demonstrate a Tuscan influence because it was in Tuscany that the theme had been developed. The iconography of the Bladelin Altar depends mainly on the Golden Legend, from which Rogier also derived the unusual motif of the star of Bethlehem in the shape of a little child. I have not succeeded in verifying the claim of Theodore Rousseau [*Bulletin, Metropolitan Museum of Art*, ix, 1951, pp. 270ff.] that the idea of the Magi taking a bath, shown not only on the right wing of the Bladelin Altar but, on a much larger scale, in the altar now at the Cloisters in New York which was derived from it, comes also from the Golden Legend. The column supporting the stable is connected with passages in the Pseudo-Bonaventure and in the Revelations of St. Birgitta. More exceptional still, and indicative of Rogier's study of Italian traditions, is the active presence of a figure who seems to be the Virgin in the *Naming of*

St. John in the *St. John* triptych. (The identification of this figure with the Virgin depends on the halo which has the form, rather exceptional for Rogier, of two concentric gold rings.) The literary source is the anonymous *Vita Patrum* but Panofsky believes that Rogier was acquainted with what he calls the only appearance in art prior to Rogier of this incident, Andrea Pisano's relief on the Baptistery door in Florence. (For this question see now also Marilyn Aronberg Lavin in *ART BULLETIN*, XXXVII, 1955, pp. 87-88.) Other Italian artists whose works Rogier is said to have known are, besides Fra Angelico, Gentile da Fabriano, Pesellino, and Filippo Lippi. The claim that the young woman who "casts her glance at the beholder" on the right wing of the *Columba Altar* reveals another Italian influence, in accordance with a Florentine tradition and Alberti's advice to include such figures, seems unconvincing. First of all, the young woman looks only vaguely out of the picture and not at the beholder; there is, however, a figure in the central panel who does, and thus Panofsky's theory would still be justified were it not for the fact that figures looking out of the picture at the beholder already occur in the *Ghent Altar*.

"The Heritage of the Founders" is the subject of the last chapter, presented as an "Epilogue." The stature of the "founders" gains greatly if one is aware of their far-flung influence. Germany, France, and Spain were powerfully affected by their ideas, and one is grateful to Panofsky for demonstrating this fact in some detail for the first two countries and at least hinting at it for the last. South German masters like Lukas Moser, Hans Multscher, Konrad Witz, Konrad Laib, and others less well known were heavily indebted to the Master of Flémalle, though most of them were aware of other trends, too. (Panofsky reaffirms, for instance, that Laib's "als ich chun" is indeed the German equivalent for Jan van Eyck's "Als ich chan"; he also believes in, and substantiates in a long note, the Eyckian origin of some prominently displayed still-life features such as books, wooden boxes, etc.) Whether the spheres of influence can be defined geographically and whether the Eyckian component really outweighs that of the Master of Flémalle in northwest Germany seem to me less certain; one of Panofsky's star witnesses, the Master of Heiligenthal, pronounces the Eyckian idiom with a heavy Flémallesque accent, and Lochner, after all, hailed from the Upper Rhine. The most Eyckian of the Germans, the Master of the *Darmstadt Passion*, was Middle-Rhenish, but as far as I know he was as exceptional there as he would have been anywhere else.

A more harmonious combination of the two traditions than any found in Germany is seen in the *Aix Annunciation* and in other works of French artists, preparing the way for the fusion of Northern and Italian influences in Fouquet.

Turning from this "excursion" back to Flemish art proper, Panofsky focuses his attention first on Petrus Christus, whom he—quite contrary to what Friedrich Winkler said in a review of the book—neatly cuts down to size without overlooking the fact that even a minor

master may make significant contributions. In one of his delightful and fitting phrases he places his finger on Christus' limitations by saying that he expressed himself in "basic Flemish"; yet he gives him credit for the first consistent application of perspective and for introducing environmental elements into portraiture (thus minting, if I may say so, the rare gold of the Arnolfini picture into plain currency). In an interesting note on the New York *Portrait of a Carthusian* (the background of which in a curious slip he calls "a corner of a white-washed cell") Panofsky explains the meaning of the little fly as either an attribute of Dionysius the Carthusian (as suggested by Meyer Schapiro), a symbol of death (though the absence of a skull leaves this idea rather in the air), or as an early example of *trompe-l'œil*, possibly inspired by classical legends (see above, p. 215). The main purpose of the section on Petrus Christus, however, is polemical, and rightly so. Panofsky takes a strong stand against what he calls the "modern theory," first pronounced by Pächt and adopted by Schöne and Tolnay, according to which Petrus Christus was not a pupil of Jan van Eyck but a fairly independent follower of Campin and Rogier who "succumbed to the spell of Jan van Eyck" only late in life. As he does elsewhere, Panofsky, here too, champions the "traditional" view. While not denying the influence of the Master of Flémalle (in the transmission of which I believe Jacques Daret ought to be assigned a greater role) he comes out flatly for the old view that Christus was Jan van Eyck's "apprentice, collaborator, and successor in business." The Flémalle and Rogier-phase comes in the middle of his career and is followed at the end by a reversion to his first love. While there are elements of a stereotyped concept of development in this *vita* (Rogier, too, it will be remembered, late in life had a "recrudescence" of early influences), it seems to be better supported by facts than the somewhat forced theory of Pächt.

Two artists from Holland, Dirk Bouts and Aelbert Ouwater, form with Petrus Christus what Panofsky calls a closely interrelated group. Except for one passage where Petrus Christus mediates between the "Flemish" masters and Bouts as one "Northerner" to another (a passage so contradictory to what he stresses elsewhere that I assume it remained in the text by an oversight) Panofsky plays down the regional explanation of their style. He does admit that some of their ideas anticipate "important facets of what was later to become 'Dutch painting.'" Among these he lists the "Stimmungsporträt," foreshadowed by Bouts, Bouts' "devitalization" of the human figure in favor of a "vitalization" of space, as a step towards landscape painting, and a nascent emphasis on coloristic tonality in Ouwater. That Bouts and the Master of the Pearl of Brabant (whom Panofsky, like Voll and others, tends to consider a separate artist, perhaps one of Bouts' sons) were important for the genesis of landscape painting has always been admitted. Panofsky exalts their contribution beyond its true merit, however, when he says that "Bouts had proved for the first time that space can be brought to life even though nothing lives or . . . moves within it" (italics mine). The principles

by which Bouts worked as a landscape artist had been established long before; there may be a slight shift in emphasis in his work, but "the possibility of landscape painting as a species *sui generis*" had been proved in the long development which Panofsky himself so beautifully traced from the Sienese Trecento painters to the Limbourg Brothers and Jan van Eyck. To convert this "possibility" into reality, a new departure under changed circumstances, a fresh vision, and more forceful personalities than those of the painter of Louvain or his son were needed.

Ouwater, who returned to Haarlem, is generally considered the founder of the Dutch school, but Panofsky is right in stressing that his historic function was primarily that of an outpost or propagandist for the Flemish school. The younger masters in Delft and Haarlem, such as the so-called Virgo Master and Geertgen, were influenced by him but must have made study trips to Flanders on their own. No matter how personal their style or how original some of their iconographic ideas, the shadow of the great Flemish masters always hovered over them. They emulated not only Rogier and Bouts but younger and more nearly contemporary Flemish artists as well. Geertgen was deeply impressed by Hugo van der Goes, and I am rather confident that the Virgo Master was well acquainted with the early works of Joos van Ghent.

Like most scholars, Panofsky is thoroughly charmed by Geertgen's amiable nature, but he also sees the considerable range of his art, which reaches from the sweetness of the London *Nativity by Night* to the pathos of the Utrecht *Man of Sorrows* (both described as "pseudo-fragments" because of the seemingly arbitrary cutting off of the figures), or from the melancholy Berlin *St. John*, one of those figures that "makes us smile while meeting our hearts" to the colorful grotesqueness of the *Disposal of the Baptist's Bones* in Vienna.

Knowing how short-lived Geertgen was, and with no dates to guide us, it is a risky undertaking to establish a chronology for his works. As he likes to do, Panofsky here again distinguishes three periods, with most of the major works falling in the "middle" one. He dates the delightful *Madonna on the Crescent* of the van Beuningen Collection—perhaps too early—in Geertgen's first period. The middle period begins with the *Holy Kinship* in Amsterdam whose recently challenged attribution to Geertgen he supports strongly by demonstrating the unusual iconographic emphasis given in it to St. John the Baptist. His assumption, made in an effort to reconstruct Geertgen's most important work, that the two panels in Vienna, the only pieces we have from a very large altar, were cut at the top has been borne out by observations made on the spot. I am skeptical, however, concerning the shape of this altar, which in Panofsky's reconstruction shows a center panel whose upper edge is lower in the middle than at either end, with corresponding "pan-handles" on the wings. This shape is known from a lost painting by Rogier but whereas there it fitted the subject (Christ Borne to the Sepulchre), it would be strange in a Crucifixion, where the center, if anything, should

rise. Hugo van der Goes' influence is particularly strong in the Vienna *Lamentation*, a picture remarkable also because—in a reversal of a not uncommon iconographic feature—some of the lamenting figures assume poses familiar from renderings of the Epiphany. Panofsky puts the London *Nativity* in the last "period" of the master, which I feel is too late. For this picture he claims another "first": it is the "first empirical and systematic account of the optical conditions prevailing in a picture space exclusively illuminated by non-solar sources located within it." Does not Gentile da Fabriano's *Nativity* have first claim to that distinction? However that may be, it is worth while, perhaps, to remember that an important preliminary step in Geertgen's direction had been made by Bouts in the small background scene of the Munich *Arrest of Christ* (Fig. 4).

It was inevitable since the discovery of Brother Ofhuys' report on Hugo van der Goes' sickness that this "masterpiece of clinical accuracy and sanctimonious malice" (as Panofsky describes it, not without a little malice of his own), should be used as our major key to the understanding of the art of this master. Panofsky, too, sees Hugo in the light of his personal tragedy, but he resists the temptation to abdicate his critical method in favor of psychological speculation. Indeed, when he begins his discussion of Hugo's last works with the phrase "The outbreak of the storm can be witnessed, with that mixture of elation and horror which always accompanies the experience of the sublime" I cannot help feeling that the phenomenon of a disintegrating mind stirs his sense of curiosity more than his sympathy; as the object-demonstration of an aesthetic theory, Hugo loses a good deal of human appeal and assumes the remoteness of a character in a play.

The reflection of Hugo's illness—the actual outbreak of which came only in 1481—is seen by Panofsky in works from the middle of the 1470's, with their "irrational" treatment of space and light, their distortions of scale, and above all their "weird" choice of colors. Panofsky is more eloquent than with any other painter in the description of Hugo's colors. In the *Death of the Virgin* he finds them "as dissonant as unresolved seconds" while in the Bonquill panels their contrasts are "sharpened" to an effect of "phantasmagoria." He makes very clear, however, that our lucky, if accidental, knowledge of what indeed may have been an exceptional case (though Ficino's theory of the congenital melancholia of genius, as Panofsky does not fail to remark, appeared in the same year in which Hugo died) does not relieve the historian from asking the "conventional" questions concerning the artist's training, influences, development, chronology, and the iconography of his works. More than had been done hitherto Panofsky emphasizes the influence of Joos van Ghent on Hugo's early works. He doubts that Hugo made a trip to Italy and believes that what Italian elements there are in his work, as for instance in the *assistenza* of such pictures as the Monforte Altar, could have been derived from minor Italian paintings accessible to him in the homes of the many Italian merchant families settled in Flanders. (He mentions later that Memling

came to his superficial Italianisms the same way. Without questioning this possibility it seems worth while to ponder the curious fact that as far as I can see not a single Italian Quattrocento painting of consequence crossed the Alps in the fifteenth century, while a considerable number of Northern paintings went south. Nor are there any known portraits painted by Italian artists of members of the Italian colony settled in the Netherlands. Likewise, whereas there are expressions of praise for Northern artists by Southern authors such as Facio, I am not aware of any fifteenth century Northerner saying similar things about the Italians. Concerning the admiration for and influence of Flemish art in Italy, Panofsky himself provides a brief but excellent survey in the first three pages of his Introduction.

While denying an Italian trip, Panofsky proposes—as a “working hypothesis”—the interesting theory that in 1472-1473 Hugo made an extensive trip into France. He suggests that after he had decorated the Church of St. Pharahildis in Ghent, Hugo might have taken part in the “triumphal” funeral procession which followed the remains of Philip the Good and Isabella of Portugal from Flanders to Burgundy. This would account for the stylistic change from the Monforte to the Portinari Altars, a change which in Panofsky’s opinion presupposes an acquaintance with French art, especially that of Fouquet and his circle. Whether a *pompe funèbre* from Bruges to Dijon could indeed have provided the artist with an opportunity to study Parisian court art is a moot question; little can be gained for the hypothesis from the undeniable influence which Hugo exercised upon the Maître de Moulins, since this is far more easily explained by a study-period which this French artist may have spent in the Netherlands. Nevertheless, certain stylistic and iconographic peculiarities, for instance the reversed position of the figures in the *Annunciation* of the Portinari Altar, make the theory of a French influence, no matter how acquired, quite acceptable. (In Lochner’s *Annunciation* on the High Altar of Cologne Cathedral the angel, however, also comes from the right!) As I mentioned before, Panofsky turns down Oettinger’s “revised” chronology in favor of the “orthodox” one which puts the Vienna diptych in the beginning of Hugo’s career. This view is indeed supported by connections which, as he shows, exist between Hugo’s “early” works and those of Joos van Ghent. There was a real give-and-take between the two masters of Ghent. Hugo’s *Lamentation* shows the influence of Joos’ Crucifixion; Joos’ *Communion of the Apostles* in Urbino in turn reflects Hugo’s picture.

The problem of Hugo’s early works will remain difficult, it seems to me as long as there are so few of them. Panofsky admits, besides the Vienna Diptych, only the little *Madonna* in Frankfurt. I am willing to accept his negative verdict for the Liechtenstein *Adoration of the Magi*, but I am not yet ready to give up the Brussels *St. Anne* as well. I also believe that the *Pietà* in the collection of Gomez Moreno (Joseph Destrée, *Hugo van der Goes*, Brussels, 1914, p. 132, repr. after p. 136) is either an early original

by Hugo or else a faithful repetition of one; K. G. Boon (*Nederlandsch Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek*, 1950-1951, p. 90) in my opinion underrates the quality of this work.

In the *Fall of Man*, for the first time in Hugo’s work, we find the flowers iris and columbine, here associated with Eve. In their more normal connection with the Virgin they appear in the Monforte and Portinari Altars, in the latter combined with a scarlet lily and a sheaf of grain into a still life whose rich symbolic associations Panofsky explains with his usual mastery. I wish he had also commented on the peculiar appearance of the Serpent, standing upright under the tree in the *Fall of Man*. I know this motif only from a slightly later drawing by Bosch (Ludwig Baldass, *Hieronymus Bosch*, Vienna, 1943, fig. 148).

The Monforte Altar, representing a “classic phase in Hugo’s development,” is dated 1470-1472; after a fairly long interval, into which Panofsky fits the hypothetical French trip, follows the Portinari Altar, which he believes was commissioned in 1475-1476 and executed in 1476-1477. The date of the altar is tied up with the age and the number of the Portinari children. They are Margherita, born 1471, Antonio, born 1472, and Pigello, born 1474. The next child, Guido, was born in 1476, and it is because of his absence that Panofsky dates the commission as he does, while the apparent age of the children in the painting induces him to place the execution as late as possible. There are reasons which I think militate against so late a date. Since it is not uncommon that children born after the completion of such altars were inserted later (see for instance Memling’s altar in the Bruges Museum), we may assume that every effort would have been made to include a child born *during* the execution of a work. Thus if the altar had been executed in 1476-1477, Guido surely would have been put into the picture, no matter how small. Indeed, this is exactly what I think happened, though not with Guido but with Pigello. He is the only child not accompanied by a patron Saint; if he had been in the original plan of the picture the artist would surely have found a solution for providing him, too, with an intercessor. Moreover, if we examine Pigello’s place in the altar, wedged in, almost without a body, between Antonio and St. Anthony’s stick, the conclusion seems to me inescapable that he was not part of the original plan. His is the only “crowded” figure in an otherwise impressively spacious and balanced composition. Thus I believe the altar was designed and begun *before* Pigello was born and that he was inserted during the execution. No conclusion should be drawn from his apparent age. As part of the family of the donor, a child in an altar had to kneel, no matter what his age. And if we remember that a child in formal wear, and painted in the solemn dignity of such a context, may look much older than its real age, I see no reason why Margherita and Antonio could not have been four and three years respectively when Hugo painted their innocent faces. Since I am firmly convinced that the altar was finished before the birth of Guido in 1476, a date of

1474-1475 would seem to me to do full justice to the visual as well as the documentary evidence.

An interesting contribution to the iconographic study of the altar is the explanation of the building in the background as the deserted Palace of David, identifiable by its "coat-of-arms," the harp, and an abbreviated text alluding to a familiar phrase from the Christmas liturgy.

The next major works are the Holyrood panels of ca. 1478-1479, parts of which were finished by another hand. They may have been organ-shutters but the comparison with Sluter's sculptures at the Chartreuse at Champmol, to which Panofsky refers as a possible source of influence, makes it clear that the kneeling and praying members of the royal family must originally have been provided with a center of attraction. Somewhere, and fairly prominently displayed on the organ, there must have been a religious image. No one prays to an organ. A study of the design of organs, and of the iconography of organ wings in the later middle ages, might help to throw light on this problem as well as the related one of the Ghent Altar.

In accordance with general opinion Panofsky puts the Berlin *Nativity* and the Bruges *Death of the Virgin* at the end of Hugo's development. The prophets in the Berlin picture literally "reveal" or "unveil" the New Dispensation; for the motif of the curtains Panofsky refers to Fouquet's portrait of Charles VII, where they are only framing devices and are not "pulled away" to reveal the king. I therefore believe that the origin of the motif is found more probably in Italian tombs of the Trecento and Quattrocento where angels frequently draw aside curtains to allow a glimpse of the effigy. As regards the *Death of the Virgin*, Panofsky agrees with those who deny that Schongauer was influenced by Hugo's painting when he did his famous engraving of the same theme. He does not consider the possibility that Hugo might have been acquainted with the print. This I regard as not unlikely. Schongauer's print is an early work and was almost certainly made several years before Hugo's painting. The high degree of originality of Hugo's composition would remain unimpaired, but a new and interesting light would be thrown on his creative processes if we could admit that the German print was his point of departure.

Panofsky deals only briefly with Hugo as a painter of portraits. As a matter of fact, only donors' portraits are known to exist, and they are not very numerous. Besides those found in altars, Panofsky accepts—for good reasons—only the fragment of the young man with high cheek-bones in New York, the proud and irascible-looking donor with St. John in Baltimore, and the kneeling donors in full length which Hugo painted on the left wing of Bouts' St. Hippolytus Altar in Bruges. Even so, the known examples are sufficient to make it clear that the painter of the most complex facial expressions found in religious painting in the fifteenth century was also a subtly understanding portraitist and at times a terrifyingly penetrating student of human physiognomy.

Sincere admiration for Friedländer's great work,

observable throughout, even where he differs from the venerable "Altmeister," comes strongly to the fore in the last section. In dealing with some of the minor figures of the late fifteenth century, Panofsky quotes liberally from Friedländer's text, a text justly famous for the appropriateness of its verbal images and for its succinct, pithy formulations. He relies on Friedländer all the more as he is no longer concerned with the clarification of *œuvres* or with individual developments. For these problems, including the very christening of the many anonymous masters, he accepts Friedländer's guidance. The questions which he poses at the end of the book are of a more general nature. He is interested in the gradual separation of the Flemish and Dutch traditions which are recognizable as different schools in the beginning of the sixteenth century.

As Panofsky sees it, the distinction can be noticed by about 1480, when the "Northern" school develops a style similar to the German "Late Gothic Baroque" while the "Southern" camp tends toward a *détente* similar to French Gothic (though not French painting of this time). Whether this is really the basic distinction is a problem by itself; the early works of Gossart seem to indicate a tendency to a "Baroque" phase in the South, too. For the *détente* Panofsky credits (or blames) the weight of established tradition which "prevented the late-born Flemings from going Baroque." Although confronted, according to a "law" formulated by Winckelmann, with a "choice between exaggeration and eclecticism" they "could not but turn to the latter." Why this was so is not said, nor does the author sustain the verdict of eclecticism when he comes to the greatest Flemish artist of the early sixteenth century, Quentin Massys. Even less clear is what caused the artists of the North to go "Baroque"; it was not, as far as I can make out, a German influence. The danger of explaining a fact by its existence is not entirely avoided.

The chief figure of the Flemish *détente* is Memling, "the very model of a major minor master," who "occasionally enchants" and "never offends." His most important contribution Panofsky sees in his practice of setting portraits "against a landscape and nothing else," but he admits that this was not only largely prepared by Rogier's Braque Triptych but had been practiced before in Italian portraiture. A novel theory concerning the influences which shaped Memling's art is introduced when Panofsky says that in his placid symmetrical compositions Memling followed,—besides his own temperament,—"the precepts of his native Rhenish tradition." This statement, which with Friedländer, who is quoted, was a noncommittal figure of speech, is given considerable weight, more weight, perhaps, than the author really intended.

The second major proposition, connected in some ways with the first, is the "revival," at the end of the century, of the style of the "founders," a revival which Panofsky also calls the "archaism of around 1500." The chief merit of the comments on this movement, aside from calling more forceful attention to its pervasive nature than had been done before, lies in the differentiations of attitudes discovered within the

general trend. There is the "productive" archaism of Gerard David, the "reproductive" of Colyn de Coter; the "imperceptive" efforts at modernization of the old masters by Gossart; the fruitful "reconstruction" by Massys and Joos van Cleve (for whom Panofsky prefers to retain the old name of "Master of the Death of the Virgin"). Jan Provost could perhaps have been mentioned in this connection. He painted one of the more interesting variations on the Flémalle Master's *Madonna in an Apse*, a hitherto unpublished picture (Fig. 2), by combining it with the Eyckian theme of the Virgin in the Church. Panofsky stresses the preliminary character of this survey by referring to a more thorough study promised by Miss Nicole Verhaegen. Yet there is certainly a great deal of important thought and information condensed in the few pages given to it. Panofsky sees the historical function of the movement in that it provided the Flemish masters, through their return to "the sources," with the freedom necessary to overcome them at last; he sees a justification of this view in the ease with which in works of Massys and Joos this archaism could be "merged with Italian elements." The "Dutch" painters, on the other hand, unencumbered by atavistic inhibitions, saw the light of the Renaissance through the midwifery of Dürer and by direct contact. That the differentiation between *Belgae* and *Batavi* began to take on wider meaning at about the same time is surely not accidental.

Whatever the value of Panofsky's basic theory about the archaism of 1500 (my own opinion being that it somewhat oversimplifies a rather complex situation), no one will forget some of the special points made in this connection. New light is thrown on some of the works of his favorite artist of this period, Quentin Massys, such as the *Money-Changers* (an original paraphrase on a lost painting by Jan van Eyck), the profile *Portrait of an Old Man* at the Musée Jacquemart-André (a genuine portrait interpreted under the influence of Quattrocento models and Leonardesque caricature) and his so-called *Ugly Dutchess* (an Erasmusian satire on Folly, unwittingly reviving, through the mediation of Leonardo, an old Flemish type, while providing, still more unwittingly, an iconographic prototype for Sir John Tenniel's Duchess of *Alice in Wonderland*).

The epilogue of the "Epilogue" is provided by the page on Bosch which has been mentioned before. For all its modestly professed ignorance it is as beautiful and as learned a piece of Panofskian writing as one could hope to find anywhere. As one could almost guess, Panofsky upholds the "traditional" view of Bosch's orthodoxy against Fränger's fascinating but highly problematical theory that he belonged "to . . . an esoteric club of heretics believing in a Rasputin-like mixture of sex, mystical illumination and nudism." "Like Philip II" (who collected Bosch's works), Panofsky concludes, "he may have been a case for psychoanalysis, but not for the Inquisition."

Whatever Bosch's sources (and Panofsky lists some in a general way while pointing out in passing an interesting concrete connection with a late fourteenth century manuscript), they belong to the wide and colorful

stream of mediaeval wisdom, both Jewish and Christian, popular and learned, rather than to "gnostic, Orphic, and Neoplatonic mysteries." A study of the kind which Panofsky expects eventually to furnish a reliable key to Bosch's thought has since been published by Mrs. Brand Philip in these pages (*ART BULLETIN*, xxxv, 1953, pp. 267-293).

A review of this length would be meaningless were it not understood that this book is, and will remain, next to Friedländer's, the great standard work in its field. I am sure, however, that Panofsky would also be the first to maintain that the subject is still far from exhausted. More than once he points at a problem the solution of which requires a great deal more special research, if it can be solved at all. Despite the publication of Beenken's book he would probably still insist that "a satisfactory monograph on Roger van der Weyden has still to be written." (The same, I think, could be said of Hugo van der Goes.) I have tried to point out some of the areas where his own treatment raises new questions. The influence of Italy and possibly also of classical antiquity even on the "Founders" could perhaps be examined still further. The chronological sequence of the works of the great masters is far from established.

There are areas which Panofsky was by necessity compelled to treat more cursorily than book-illumination and panel painting. One is the drawings of Early Flemish masters. Needless to say that where Panofsky comments on individual problems such as that of the so-called Eyckian drawings of the Dukes of Brabant—which he takes for products of Rogier's studio—he shows the same informed discernment as in his discussion of paintings. Yet I believe that a comprehensive treatment of this field would still yield dividends to scholarship. The problem of originality versus copy in particular needs further study.

That evidence of other media can enlarge our knowledge of painting has been amply demonstrated in the field of early Flemish painting. These possibilities are far from exhausted, and our concepts of secular art of the period in particular are likely to be enriched by a systematic consideration of tapestry, book-illumination of the post-Eyckian period, and, to a minor extent, of engraving. Much valuable information is still to be found in later iconographic collections such as the Albums of de Sucka and of Rubens. (In the "addenda" Panofsky points out that a lost Eyckian portrait of Infanta Isabella of Portugal is presumably preserved in a seventeenth century drawing.) The technical examination of Flemish originals, as has been demonstrated for the Ghent Altar and the Crucifixion by Joos van Ghent, is also apt to furnish important data.

Progress can be made in other directions, not necessarily concerned with the enlarging of our material knowledge. The concrete historical situation, the forces that made for conservatism as well as for progress, the social conditions under which artists worked, and the possible reflection of these factors in art, do not as yet seem to have been explored to the limits of the available sources. What precisely were the procedures

and techniques employed in the dissemination of artistic ideas? What was the nature of the contacts between established masters and studios? What was the relation between pageantry, both princely and civic, and art? For all these questions there are studies already in existence but they seem far from final. A new approach to the many literary sources might yield new results.

Despite the obvious danger of a vicious circle, careful studies of costume and other fashion trends are often helpful in dating works of art. In his book on Rogier, Beenken pays close attention to the way men

wore their hair, though it is not clear whether the basis for his judgments is broad enough to sustain his conclusions.

These remarks by no means exhaust the possible avenues of future research. Wide stretches still lie open for the inquisitive mind. Yet it is safe to predict that whoever is going to work in this field, whatever aspect of it he may choose, will owe an immeasurable debt to Erwin Panofsky.

JULIUS S. HELD
Barnard College

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

SIR:

Dr. Bernheimer in his interesting paper on Gothic survival and revival in Bologna (*THE ART BULLETIN*, December 1954) says of some drawings for stage-sets dated 1694 and early in the eighteenth century that they "are the first examples in the history of art of the deliberate choice by an artist among various architectural styles, preceding corresponding specimens in England."

I do not think this statement can be upheld. Wren in his report on Westminster Abbey in 1713 said that he had "among the Parochial Churches of London given some few examples" of the Gothic style and that they had proved "not ungraceful but ornamental." It is true that he added "where I was oblig'd to deviate from a better style," but we know of only one case where he really seems to have had no choice. The case is that of St. Mary Aldermary, completed by 1682. Here the condition made by a private donor was that the old fabric was to be copied. I have not yet succeeded in finding the will in question, but, however the condition was formulated, Wren's fan vaults are certainly not a copy of previous Tudor vaults. His handling of mediaeval precedent is already that of the eighteenth century, and it seems hardly possible to speak of survival here.

Survival also is the label usually appended to the Gothic vaults which were still constructed in Oxford and Cambridge colleges in the 1630s. Here again I am no longer sure that this label is the right one—on the strength of a passage in the papers of St. John's College, Cambridge. This passage, to which I have referred twice in the Cambridgeshire volume of my *Buildings of England* (Penguin Books 1954), seems to me to establish firmly the priority of England in the history of the Gothic Revival.

The story is this. In 1623 money was offered to the college anonymously for the building of a new library. The building was erected, and it has entirely Gothic two-light windows without any frills or fantasy (Fig. 1). The rest of the detail is clearly Jacobean, and the date 1624 appears on the outside. Now in a letter written by Bishop Carey to the then master and reporting a meeting with the donor, who turned out to be Bishop Williams, it is stated that "the forme and fashion" of the windows "was most doubted." But then Bishop Carey told Bishop Williams "that some men of judgement liked the best the old fashion of church windows, holding it most meet for such a building," and so Bishop Williams acquiesced.

In this attitude of choosing the Gothic style as especially suitable for one particular type of building I submit we have the Gothic Revival in its entirety—seventy years before Dr. Bernheimer's example.

NIKOLAUS PEVSNER
Cambridge University

SIR:

In Robert Branner's review of Pierre du Colombier, *Les Chantiers des cathédrales* (*THE ART BULLETIN*, March 1955, p. 61), I notice an error that seems to require correction since it touches upon a matter of some significance to architectural historians. Taking exception to du Colombier's view that "there was no programming or estimate of cost and/or time [required by building enterprises] in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries," Mr. Branner writes: "One will readily admit that no budget existed in the modern sense of the word; but the mere infrequency of explicit documents or the obscurity of their information should not serve as evidence against the existence of some forms of programming. Estimates of cost, even if partial, are known," and in order to corroborate this statement Mr. Branner remarks in a footnote, "E.g., when Pierre de Celle (1162-1180) had rebuilt part of the chevet of St.-Remi at Reims, he was able to estimate the cost of finishing the edifice (Migne, *PL*, ccli, col. 598)."

The only relevant sentence I can find in the column cited seems to say nothing of the sort. The sentence reads as follows: "Mille enim libras, adhuc simul quingentas postea pro opere monasterii expendi." The passage occurs in a letter to a younger friend and protégé whom Peter had nominated to the Priory of Lapley and who had inquired about the Abbot's health and affairs. In his reply, Peter relates that he is beginning the restoration of the choir of his abbey, that the work already begun looks fine and augurs well for what is yet to follow. Then Peter recalls that his friend has once reproached him for neglecting the care of his monastery in favor of his interests in other things. This remark, Peter says, though made but casually, has not fallen on deaf ears. And as evidence for this, there follows the sentence I have quoted above. All the sentence, which is not as clear as one would wish, seems to say, is: "I have spent on the *monasterium* one thousand pounds and in addition a second and subsequent installment of five hundred pounds." The passage, obviously, is without relevance to the argument between du Colombier and Branner. Peter is writing at a moment when the work on his choir has only just begun (*aggredior*); both expenditures mentioned have been made in the past, and we can in no way be certain that the money has been spent on the church only and not on the monastery as a whole, or that it has been spent exclusively for architectural purposes. In fact one might well argue that the opposite is the case. In no event, however, can the passage be taken as an indication that Peter, when he wrote the letter, "had rebuilt part of of the chevet" and "was able to estimate the cost of finishing the edifice."

I agree with Mr. Branner that no extensive building would have been possible without at least a partial estimate of cost; but so quite possibly would du Colombier, who merely observes "Dans l'ensemble, ce-

pendant, la plupart des ressources du chantier sont irrégulières, aléatoires: que l'on ne s'étonne point de l'irrégularité des progrès de la construction." The very extent to which mediaeval builders relied on pious offerings and revenues from indulgences (the latter curiously described by Mr. Branner as "also a kind of fraternity") precluded anything but rough estimates of income that would be available.

OTTO G. VON SIMSON
University of Chicago

SIR:

I wish to thank Otto von Simson for calling attention to my mistaken interpretation of the sentence in Pierre de Celle's letter regarding the early Gothic portions of St.-Remi at Reims. Upon close examination, the sentence cannot be construed to mean two expenditures of money, of which one was to be in the future. The example hence has no relevance in my argument that there is some evidence for estimates of cost and/or time in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.

There are, however, other examples which can be cited to support my original contention. The ones in print that come immediately to mind are as follows. At Urgel in Catalonia, a mason contracted in 1175 to complete certain parts of the Cathedral within seven years;¹ in 1202, the Bishop of Winchester organized a five-year fraternity for the *reparatio* of his church, and in 1224-1225 a seven-year group was formed at Worcester.² It is difficult not to see in these examples, and especially in the last two, a definite correlation on the part of the administrators between the project and both the estimated time it would take to execute and the amount of money it would require. Suger himself, one of the most efficient administrators, repeatedly mentions the allocation of specific income for his work at St.-Denis, i.e., the sums drawn annually from different carefully identified sources to complete the western and eastern portions of the edifice or the £700 to insure the completion and upkeep of the stained glass windows.³

I readily admit that these scraps of evidence are tantalizingly obscure. But they suggest a method of operation which has heretofore been largely ignored by historians. The sentence cited by von Simson from du Colombier seems to me to plunge us back into the traditional and rather inconclusive architectural history of the nineteenth century. The patterns of Gothic construction were probably as logical as the architecture itself. But unless the evidence for the economic aspects of building is made use of, in conjunction with archaeological examinations, our understanding of these pat-

terns will remain incomplete and perhaps fundamentally incorrect.

May I take this opportunity of attempting to restore to the celebrated letter of Pierre de Celle some of its traditional validity, which Mr. von Simson has considerably weakened? Von Simson says that the expenditure of £1500 cannot, with any certainty, be associated only with the church of St.-Remi, and he bases this observation on the phrase, *pro opere monasterii*. Leaving aside the question of the other meanings of *opus* in the later twelfth century, the relevance of which apparently cannot be demonstrated for St.-Remi,⁴ I think it is possible to deduce with reasonable certainty that Pierre de Celle refers in this phrase explicitly to the church of the monastery complex. In the first place, in an earlier sentence paraphrased by von Simson, Pierre writes that he has already begun (*jam opus inchoatum*) the *caput monasterii*, which is unquestionably the chevet of the church;⁵ the construction is advanced at the time of writing (implied by *ridet*), although it is difficult to tell how much of it has already been completed. Pierre is, of course, generally known in architectural history for this very work. In another well-known letter, he mentions the *caput ecclesie* in conjunction with the façade and nave.⁶ And finally, in a third letter, he writes, *caput monasterii nostri renovare volentes*. . . .⁷ Had he written *opus ecclesie* in the first place, there would of course be no doubt as to his meaning. But does it not seem reasonable, in view of these examples, to suggest that Pierre occasionally used *monasterium* in place of *ecclesia* when referring to the church building? Legal terminology, which he uses in some of his formal letters, may also have had some influence on his expression in the letter in question.

One other detail must be mentioned in this connection. The early Gothic work on the church of St.-Remi is generally assumed to have been begun around 1170; Mr. Jean Bony has recently suggested, in a discreet way, that there is some firm archaeological foundation for this date.⁸ But Pierre de Celle had been named abbot only in 1162, and part of the next eight years he apparently devoted to works not related to the monastery at all, for which his friend, the abbot of Lapley, is reported to have reproached him. When he did turn his attention to the monastery, he managed to spend no less than £1500 on it before 1181, when he was promoted to the See of Chartres. I know of no important construction or other work at St.-Remi which must have been in progress between, say, 1165, and 1181, and which would have required this sum of money, other than the rebuilding and alterations of the church. To agree with von Simson's literal reading, one must assume that several other expensive projects

1. V. Mortet, *Recueil de textes*, II, Paris, 1929, pp. 129-130.
2. Both cited by Rose Graham, "An appeal about 1175 for the building fund of St. Paul's Cathedral church," *Journal, British Archaeological Association*, s.3, x, 1945-1947, pp. 73-76.

3. Suger, *De Consecratione*, IV, and *De Administratione*, XXIX, ed. Panofsky, Princeton, 1946, pp. 102 and 52.

4. E.g., a general fund, a specific fund, or even the fabric fund, as opposed to the older meaning of "fabric" or building.

No texts are known to me which even remotely suggest these possibilities at St.-Remi.

5. Migne, *PL*, CII, col. 598.

6. *ibid.*, col. 610.

7. *ibid.*, cols. 602-603.

8. J. Bony, "French influences on the origins of English Gothic architecture," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, XII, 1949, pp. 1-15, esp. pp. 8-9 and 11.

were under way at the same time—by no means an infrequent occurrence in the twelfth century, but one rarely to be found at the start of an extensive campaign on a church proper. But lest I sin against my own criteria, I hasten to admit that the whole question of St.-Remi badly needs restudy and that new material may yet be brought to light which will enable us to read these letters with greater understanding. Incidentally, Pierre de Celle himself seems to have prepared the chevet campaign of ca. 1170 quite carefully, since before starting he requested his friends at Grand-

mont to grant an indulgence in favor of the project and to circulate it under their seal.⁹

ROBERT BRANNER
University of Kansas

ERRATA: In THE ART BULLETIN for June 1955, page 103, lines 12 and 14, read *St. Killian* for *St. Burkhard*. On page 112 in the title of the Appendix read *St. Killian* for *St. John*; and on the same page, note 1, line 3, read *been made by* for *been by*.

9. Migne. *PL*, CCII, cols. 602-603.

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- BAUR, JOHN I. H., *The New Decade*, New York, Macmillan, 1955. Pp. 96; 94 figs. \$3.75.
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- BIRD, JUNIUS, *Paracas Fabrics and Nazca Needlework, 3rd c. B.C.—3rd c. A.D.*, Washington, National Publishing Company, 1954. Pp. 126; 127 pls. \$18.00.
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- EPSTEIN, JACOB, *Epstein: An Autobiography*, New York, Dutton, 1955. Pp. 294; ill. \$6.00.
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- GARRISON, E. B., *Studies in the History of Medieval Italian Painting*, I, nos. 1-4, Florence, 1953-54. Pp. 214; 292 figs. \$2.75 per issue; \$5.00 yearly.
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- KAUFMANN, EMIL, *Architecture in the Age of Reason*, Cambridge, Mass., Harvard University Press, 1955. Pp. 293; 222 figs. \$10.00.
- KIELLAND, ELSE CHRISTIE, *Geometry in Egyptian Art*, London, Tiranti, 1955. Pp. 214; 56 figs.; 34 pls. 30s.
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- MICHELIS, P. A., *An Aesthetic Approach to Byzantine Art*, London, Batsford, 1955. Pp. 284; 150 figs. 30s.
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- Rotterdam, Museum Boymans, *Marino Marini*, 1955. Pp. 10 of ill.
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- ZIMMER, HEINRICH, *The Art of Indian Asia*, New York, Pantheon Books (Bollingen Series), 1955. I, pp. 500; 48 pls. II, 614 pls. \$22.50.